

**The Historical Society
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Front "Army Mail Leaving Headquarters" by Alfred R. Waud appeared in
Cover: *Harper's Weekly*, April 18, 1863

Back "Confederate bull battery previous to Battle of Bull Run April 8, 1861"
Cover: pencil drawing by an unknown Confederate officer and given by him to Dr.
L.F. Morawetz at Ft. Arbuckle, Indiana

Cover illustrations from the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Collection

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In Memoriam

Thomas P. Chapman, Jr. 1904-1984

Mr. Chapman served as Deputy Clerk and Clerk of the Fairfax County Court in the years 1936-1967. Most of his life was lived in Fairfax County, and he was a charter member of the Historical Society, as well as an officer and director. A 1922 graduate of the College of William and Mary, Mr. Chapman had also been a president of the Virginia Court Clerks Association.

Lawrence M. Mitchell 1896-1984

Mr. Mitchell, a native of Minnesota, moved to the Washington area as an official of the American Red Cross, from which he retired in 1956. He served as a director of the Historical Society and a member of the yearbook editorial committee. Among the articles he wrote for the yearbooks were: "Old Mills in the Centreville Area," "The County Court of Fairfax During the Colonial Period," and "Engagement at Blackburn's Ford." Mr. Mitchell was also the author of a brochure *Official Records of the Colonial Period in Fairfax County*, which the County printed and gave to researchers as a finding aid.

Foreword

In this edition of the yearbook explanatory articles have been positioned beside older documentary material and illustrations on the premise that this is one way of illuminating our understanding of a given time period in Fairfax County history—in this instance, the years 1861-1865. The editorial committee acknowledges special indebtedness to President Lewis Leigh, Jr., for the work of excerpting pertinent letters from his collection and allowing them to be published for the first time. The committee also thanks Dr. Joseph Harsh of the George Mason University History faculty for taking the time to arrange and comment on the letters.

Our only deviation from the time limit on the material concerns the “Saga of Shuter’s Hill,” for most of its documented existence in the County rather than the City of Alexandria. We felt it would be an injustice to author and readers to use only that portion dealing with Fort Ellsworth. Readers should prepare to plunge all the way back with Mr. Miller and read of 18th century doings seasoned with 18th century expressions.

Finally, we hope the contents of this volume provide lasting pleasure for Historical Society members, research data of lasting value for the future; and we respectfully dedicate this year’s production to the men and women, of both persuasions, who lived in Fairfax County for all or most of those uncomfortable years.

D’Anne Evans
Editor

Notes on Corbett's Map of "THE SEAT OF WAR" in Northern Virginia, 1861

by Ross D. Netherton

I

The American Civil War was reported more thoroughly than any war had been up to that time. Words, photographs, drawings, and even paintings responded to the insatiable demand on the home front for details of events on the fighting fronts scattered over half a continent. Aided by the telegraph, the railroad, powered printing presses, and a corps of reporters, "special artists," and pioneer photographers, the Civil War years produced a revolution in techniques of gathering and delivering information to both the military and civilian sectors.

As the war was reported, places previously unknown except to their residents and neighbors suddenly commanded world attention. Better ways were needed to give the public a grasp of locations, distances, directions, and other features of places in the news. One result was a rise in the popularity of simple maps, easily read and quickly produced, highlighting the information needed to follow the news in a particular area or a series of events.

This use of maps, along with other artistic graphics, to aid interpretation of the news, was not invented by the journalists and commercial publishers of the 1860s. Broadside publishers in the American Revolution used sketch maps to depict military developments. But the journalistic coverage of the Civil War used maps on a larger scale than ever before, and so left historians a rich legacy to supplement the cartographic archive of military and special purpose maps produced by official sources. V.P. Corbett's map of "The Seat of War" in Northern Virginia, published in the winter of 1861, is part of this legacy.

II

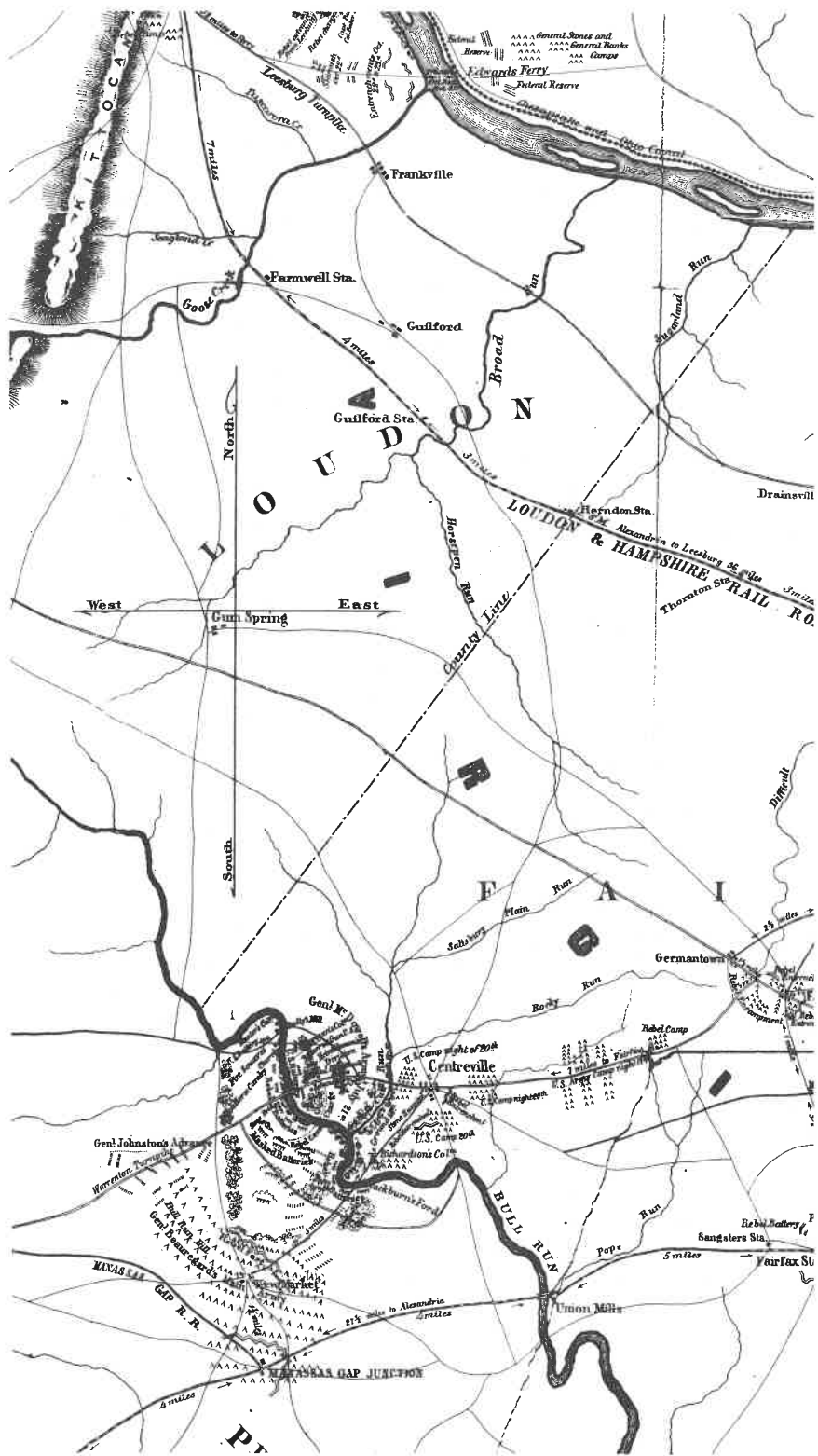
At the beginning of hostilities, the most readily available maps depicting Northern Virginia were David Burr's 1839 *Map of Virginia, Maryland and Delaware*,¹ showing post offices, post routes, roads and canals, and Henry Boyé's nine-sheet *Map of Virginia*,² compiled from original surveys authorized by the General Assembly. Boyé's map, revised in 1859 by Ludwig von Bucholtz, was the most accurate map of Virginia at the opening of the Civil War.

Among the special purpose maps, topographic engineers of the Alexandria, Loudoun & Hampshire Railroad had mapped the railroad's route in 1860, showing, also, the routes of the Manassas Gap Railroad and Orange & Alexandria Railroad;³ but except for details of the rights-of-way, few natural or manmade features were shown. In addition, as Union forces occupied Alexandria and Fairfax Counties, numerous sketch maps were produced by reconnaissance parties seeking sites for camps or fortifications, or terrain likely to be occupied by the enemy. Even when they could be obtained, however, these special purpose maps tended to be limited to specific sites, and were of little use in explaining the news to the public.

III

Two examples of maps made to orient the public to the scene of conflict, published by V.P. Corbett, survive in the Library of Congress' Map Division. One, dated May 31, 1861—eight days after the first Union troops crossed into Virginia—is titled *Sketch of the Seat of War in Alexandria and Fairfax Counties*.⁴ It shows railroads, turnpikes and county roads in the area from Alexandria to Chain Bridge, and from the Potomac River inland to Fairfax Court House. Topographic features of the Arlington and Alexandria Heights are shown, with fortifications and troop units marked. Also shown is the farm of V.P. Corbett on a county road (probably present Glebe Road) midway between Ball's Crossroads and Hunter's Chapel at the intersection of the county road and Columbia Pike.

Whether this sketch was intended for publication may be questioned since the distances shown for some features are clearly not in scale; and it may have been drawn in preparation for drafting Corbett's best known map in the winter of 1861. This map, titled *Map of the Seat of War, showing the Battles of July 18th, July 21st and October 21st, 1861*,⁵ lists V.P. Corbett as publisher, and A. Hoen and Company, of Baltimore, as lithographers.⁶



Focusing on the topics of paramount interest at that time, Corbett's map shows details of four areas: Blackburn's Ford, where McDowell's Union troops on July 18th had their initial skirmish with Beauregard's forces; the battlefield at Manassas (or Bull Run) on July 21st; the site of the Battle of Ball's Bluff, near Leesburg, on October 21st; and, last, the positions taken by Confederate forces as they followed the Union army, defeated at Manassas, back to the series of fortifications defending the Virginia approaches to Washington.

IV

During the fall and winter of 1861, Corbett's Map of the Seat of War was sold at Philp & Solomon's Metropolitan Bookstore on Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, and advertised in the *National Intelligencer* as "being the best map published. Showing the directions of the roads and the location of all places of interest between Manassas, Washington and Harper's Ferry. Price 25¢." An added note saying, "Sutlers supplied at reasonable discount," suggests that the map was popular with soldiers in the field, both as an aid to amateur strategists in campfire arguments, and to send home marked with annotations of personal experiences.

Although there is no record that Corbett's sketch map of May 31, 1861 ever was published commercially, another of his maps was in print at this time. In October, 1861, Franck Taylor, another Washington bookseller, listed "Corbett's Large Map of Fairfax County, Virginia, 25¢" among the war maps offered for sale.⁸

V

More is known of Corbett's map than is known of his life and career. From census and land records of Alexandria (now Arlington) County, it appears that he was born in New York in 1829 as Virgil P. Corbett.⁹ Two of his brothers, Frank C. and Sewell B., came to Northern Virginia in the 1850s, settling on farms in Arlington Township of Alexandria County. Virgil followed, and bought land abandoned at the outset of the war by the Hunter family, and formerly part of the property of Orlando Fairfax, on Glebe Road where it crosses Doctor's Branch, a tributary of Four Mile Run.¹⁰ Although his farm apparently prospered, Virgil Corbett did not enjoy it long, for he died while still in his forties, survived by his wife, Emily, and two children.¹¹

References

- ¹. David H. Burr, "Map of Virginia, Maryland and Delaware Exhibiting the Post Offices, Post Roads, Canals, Rail Roads, etc., [Washington], 1839, colored, 36x49 in., LC No. G1200.B9 1839.
- ². Herman Boye, "A Map of the State of Virginia, constructed in conformity to law from the late surveys authorized by the legislature; and other original documents," 1825, corrected, 1859 by L.V. Buchholtz [Richmond, 1859], 9 sheets, 20½x31 in., LC No. G3880, 1859.B6.
- ³. "Map of Alexandria, Fairfax, Prince William, Stafford and Portions of the Adjacent County's" [Drawn by Washington Blythe, Chief Engineer, Alexandria, Loudoun & Hampshire Railroad] ca. 1860, 26x31 in., LC No. G3884 .A3 1858.B5
- ⁴. V.P. Corbett, "Sketch of the Seat of War in Alexandria and Fairfax Co?" Washington City, May 31, 1861, 11x15 in., LC Civil War Maps no. 522.
- ⁵. V.P. Corbett, "Map of the Seat of War showing the Battles of July 18th, 21st, and Oct. 21, 1861," Lithographed by A. Hoen and Co., Baltimore, Washington, D.C., ca. 1861, 26x22 in. LC No. Civil War Maps, no. 564. It is possible that this map is a refined and enlarged version of one which Corbett prepared earlier in the summer of 1861 to show the events leading up to and immediately following the Battle of Bull Run. The New York State Library's Map File contains such a map, showing only the Battles of July 18th and 21st, and smaller in size (17½x20 in.) than his map which also covers the Battle of Ball's Bluff on October 21, 1861.
- ⁶. *Boyd's Washington and Georgetown Directory, 1864*, Washington, 1864.
- ⁷. *National Intelligencer*, Washington, D.C., October 22, 1861.
- ⁸. *Ibid.*, October 19, 1861.
- ⁹. U.S. Census, 1870, Virginia, Alexandria County, Arlington Township, Item 189/220.
- ¹⁰. Dorothea Abbott, "The Hunter Family and Its Connection with Arlington County," *The Arlington Historical Magazine*, 7:(2) 36, 41 (1982).
- ¹¹. *Alexandria Gazette*, January 27, 1871, p. 3; January 13, 1880, p.3.



*View of the ruined bridge of the Centreville Military Railroad.
Courtesy Manassas National Battlefield Park*

Centreville Military Railroad

by
Philip Korologos
and
Ben Nguyen

This is the essay which won first prize in the 1983 Historical Society contest. This article as originally prepared had several appendices elaborating on textual references which we could not print for lack of space. Anyone wishing to consult the appendices can go to the Virginia Room of the Fairfax County Regional Library Headquarters Branch or write for copies.

The Civil War was the culmination of nearly half a century of internal domestic dissension. Two conflicting societies, the North and the South, each offering its own ideals and visions for the future, could no longer exist divided under the same authority. Consequently, Southern secessionist delegates met on February 4, 1861, in Montgomery, Alabama, to adopt a provisional constitution for a new country.¹ The Confederate States of America, born with a conservative commitment, saw as its *raison d'être* the retention of the state rights of nullification and the preservation of the southern plantation life with its "peculiar institution" of slavery.² With President Lincoln's call to "preserve the Union," the conclusive finale to the latent, long-standing rivalries had irrevocably begun.

Amid a wave of sectional patriotism, the call to arms on both sides was promptly answered by eager young men, yearning to fight. Thus, two segments of America, each with irreconcilable differences but each wholly dedicated to its own convictions, prepared for war.³ Northerners confidently expected the insurrection to collapse as soon as a Federal army marched on Richmond, while Southerners optimistically predicted a half-hearted Northern effort destined for failure.⁴ The untrained armies, impatient for action, soon confronted each other near Manassas, an important rail junction on the road to

Richmond. The First Battle of Bull Run, fought on July 21, 1861, dispelled both side's hopes for an early victory.⁵ The war in the east stalemated for the rest of the year as the opposing armies settled down to the serious matter of warfare. It would not be for another year, until McClellan's Peninsula Campaign, that the heat of a major battle would return to Virginia.⁶

During this one year, developments in the east following the Battle of Bull Run changed the entire complexion of the war and distinguished it as the first modern war.⁷ One important change was the emergence of the railroad as a factor in total military strategy. Though railroads were not new by any standards in 1861, the "essential roles [they would play in] the struggle" were indeed a novelty.⁸ In this "railroad war," it soon became apparent to all observers except a few that this "new means of transportation would play a significant role."⁹ The North held the advantage since it possessed twice the track mileage the South did.¹⁰ Indeed, the North had, by the end of the war, created a unit, the United States Military Railroads, that was able both to supply Union armies deep in the South and to repair the depredation of Southern raiders on Union railroads.¹¹ Moreover, the North centralized its railway operation and gave its directors unlimited power to carry out their duties; "no officer, whatever his rank, would interfere with the running of the cars as directed by the superintendent, under penalty of being dismissed" was a War Department order which protected General Herman Haupt, who directed the Union railroads in the east, from interference.¹²

However, it was Confederate innovativeness that gave the South an initial advantage in the application of the railroad in a comprehensive military strategy. For example, at the Battle of Bull Run, General Joseph E. Johnston's forces, stationed in the Shenandoah Valley, were able to arrive in time to reverse the course of the engagement by riding on trains.¹³ Following this battle, ambulance trains¹⁴ carried the Confederate wounded back to Richmond. In another case, General Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson's continual disruption of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad near Harper's Ferry, Virginia, was the first application of the modern practice of cutting the rail lines to hinder enemy movement and communications.¹⁵ In addition, Robert E. Lee's railway gun, used during the Peninsula Campaign,¹⁶ pre-empted the rail guns that the North would later use successfully at the sieges of Richmond and Petersburg. In a remarkable development in Northern Virginia, General Johnston ordered the construction of a line, sometimes referred to as the "Johnston Spur,"¹⁷ between the rail station at Manassas Junction and the Confederate army camps at Centreville.¹⁸ Because it was the first railroad built by an army as a result of military necessity, this was the

first military railroad in the world. In fact, the Centreville Military Railroad was another example of the early Confederate predominance in the implementation of modern wartime railroad operations.

After the battle of Bull Run, the disorganized Federal Army retreated back to Washington for the duration of the first year in order to prepare for the spring campaign.¹⁹ In response, the Confederate Army of the Potomac²⁰ moved to Centreville, a strategic area since it consisted of high ground flanked by two defensible creeks.²¹ There, General J.E. Johnston ordered a series of earthworks and forts constructed;²² these fortifications dismayed Union troops who were convinced of their invulnerability.²³

Behind their defenses, the Confederate troops settled in at Centreville for what was to be their first experience in winter quarters.²⁴ Supplies for the army were delivered from the south to the railhead at Manassas Junction.²⁵ From there, wagon teams brought the provisions the six and one half miles to Centreville on the only thoroughfare connecting Manassas and Centreville, the Manassas Road.²⁶ However, by late autumn, the rain and incessant use had created large ruts in the red-clay road, making the road virtually inaccessible.²⁷ An attempt to corduroy the road by laying logs transversely across it did not ameliorate the transportation difficulties significantly.²⁸ In fact, the six-mule teams usually consumed an amount of fodder tantamount to what they actually delivered as they struggled through mud often reaching two feet in depth.²⁹ It soon became apparent that an alternate solution had to be developed or else the army would have to evacuate Centreville for fear of starvation.³⁰

By November, Johnston had reached a decision; a small spur would be added to the Orange and Alexandria Railroad at Manassas Junction that would cross Bull Run and eventually stop at Centreville.³¹ Accordingly, the directors of the O&A were approached and the first note of the proposed railroad line appeared in their record of the annual meeting on November 7, 1861, at Richmond.³² The military's request to use the uprooted track east of Manassas,³³ taken because the terminal at Alexandria had been occupied by Union forces on May 24, was denied by the directors.³⁴ The directors felt that the rails, "of the newest and best patterns,"³⁵ would be better used to repair the O&A line at other points, though they hoped that enough rails would remain to be "applied to a military line ... from Manassas to Centreville."³⁶

The attainment of the materials was deferred for the time being while the problem of labor was solved: On November 30, 1861, the Richmond Examiner reported that "labourers [were] being hired ... for the immediate construction of a railroad from Manassas to Centreville" by the quartermaster's office.³⁷ It further revealed that it

would take about two months to complete.³⁸ Indications were that the army had in mind the hiring of slaves in the labor force.^{39,40} A dispatch to the *New Orleans Crescent* dated December 24, 1861, which mentioned a recent incident where slaves working for the quartermaster's office "serenaded" General Beauregard,⁴¹ indicated that the quartermaster's office had indeed been successful in acquiring the services of the slaves. Soon after that, a notice was placed by Major Alfred M. Barbour, chief Quartermaster to General J. E. Johnston, in the *Daily Richmond Dispatch*; the notice advertised for skilled workers.⁴²

By the time the labor force had been assembled, the materials had also been obtained. Thomas Jackson and Thomas R. Sharp, drawing from "the South's one unfailing source of supply in 1861"⁴³ for railroad equipment and property, the B&O railroad, had managed to lay hold of sufficient construction materials. They were able not only to commandeer the rails for the Centreville Military Railroad, but also were able to provide materials elsewhere as well.⁴⁴ Indeed, the B&O annual report noted in December, 1861, "the destruction of tracks between Harper's Ferry and Back Creek, [with a] removal of rails, cross-ties, track fixtures,... making a total of 4 miles, 2261 feet of track torn up."⁴⁵ When this quantity of booty was combined with earlier appropriations, the Confederates had possession of enough material to begin building.

Concurrently, construction of the railroad was commenced in December.⁴⁶ Sharp, appointed to the rank of Captain of the Confederate Army on October 15, 1861,⁴⁷ was placed in command of the construction⁴⁸ due to his skill as a civil engineer and his prior experience as a railroad manager.⁴⁹ Specific factors complicated the problems of construction; the proclivity of the land, caused by a substantial disparity in the relative elevation of the various locales, resulted in the railroad having a heavy grade.⁵⁰ From Manassas to Bull Run, through a distance of four miles, the level dropped one hundred and sixty feet.⁵¹ The remaining distance to Centreville was only two miles, but fortunately, the height difference between Bull Run and Centreville was "considerably" less than between Bull Run and Manassas.⁵² At several points north of Bull Run, a path had to be created for the track bed by blasting through obstructing rock formations.⁵³ To hurry the railroad's completion, the Confederates streamlined the usual methods and routines; the cross ties beneath the tracks were set without ballast to support them.⁵⁴ In addition, the distance between where the ties were placed was double the standard distance.⁵⁵ At the crossing of Bull Run, a low wooden trestle bridge was built;⁵⁶ it was a coincidence that the short life-span of the railroad enabled it to avoid the annual spring floods on Bull Run, or else the bridge would have undoubtedly been destroyed.⁵⁸ Another proof that

Johnston perceived the railroad's use as transient was signified by the fact that he never ordered the "construction of permanent terminals"⁵⁹ where supplies to be loaded or unloaded could be stored.

While the line was being constructed, the Union was not oblivious to its presence. In a report to General McClellan dated January 27, 1862, Allen Pinkerton, head of a Northern detective agency, related the account of a Confederate deserter from the Sixth Louisiana Regiment who had "left Centreville about the 25th of December, 1861, and Manassas about January 7, 1862."⁶⁰ Pinkerton laconically stated: "Railroad from Manassas to Centreville progressing; 300 'miners' at work on it," implying that Union spies had discovered its existence even earlier.⁶¹

By mid-February, 1862, the railroad was in the last stage before completion.⁶² At that time, an officer noted that the men would "get to favor [their] horses some now as ... [the] hauling will be done by the cars."⁶³ Once the construction on the railroad was finished, the trains began their operations.⁶⁴ The track itself ran five and one-half miles⁶⁵ in a winding S-curve.⁶⁶ It terminated in a field on the farm of William Murtaugh approximately one mile south of town.⁶⁷ Its crossing at Bull Run, traces of which are all but gone today,⁶⁸ was between Cub Run and Mitchell's Ford,⁶⁹ some 200 yards downstream from the mouth of Cub Run.⁷⁰ Engines and stock from the O&A and Manassas Gap Railroads were diverted for operation on the line.⁷¹ On that interim track, supplies began arriving regularly. When Captain Sharp was placed in command of rail operations in Manassas by Major Barbour,⁷² he was ordered "to send daily carloads of grain & supplies ... to Centreville" and to "keep the Road [sic] to Centreville in good condition."⁷³

Gen. J. E. Johnston's decision to evacuate the Manassas-Centreville area on February 22, 1862⁷⁴ foreshadowed the end of the usefulness of the railroad to the Confederacy. All winter, alarmed at the Federal build-up,⁷⁵ Johnston had contemplated falling back to better positions behind the Rappahannock River, where Union troops could not outflank him and reach Richmond by landing further south.⁷⁶ It was probable that the trains brought provisions north to Centreville for the Confederates and returned laden with equipment to be withdrawn further south. Even so, the retreat was mismanaged,⁷⁷ and countless stores were abandoned and destroyed; however, most of the destruction occurred at Manassas Junction rather than at the camps.⁷⁸ On March 9, the rebel rearguard, leaving several sections of the train and some equipment on fire,^{79,80} so as not to fall into Union hands, pulled out of Centreville, "burned"⁸¹ the trestle bridge of the military railroad, and departed to the south.

On March 11, 1862, Northern soldiers marched into Centreville

and Manassas Junction.⁸² Union military railroad authorities decided to uproot the rails for use elsewhere.⁸³ The announcement of that intention, made in May, received a response from John W. Garrett, president of the B&O and the dispossessed owner of the rails.⁸⁴ Garrett “[had] been informed that the iron with which the Rail Road [sic] from Manassas to Centreville is laid, belongs to the Baltimore and Ohio Co., having been abstracted by the enemy. This iron can be identified, by its being arranged for use, with the ‘Trimbles Splice’ and by other peculiarities.”⁸⁵ Garrett’s reasons for wishing the return of his rails can be explained by a B&O annual report⁸⁶ that declared all track destroyed was to be “constantly reconstructed and finished ... whenever covered or occupied forces of the Government [sic].”⁸⁷ Permission for the B&O to recover its long-lost rails was granted in a reply dated May 22, 1862, drafted by Assistant Secretary of War P. H. Watson.⁸⁸ That the track was uprooted by the army however, and then turned over to the company rather than being dismantled by railroad personnel is suggested by the fact that the Master of the Road for the B&O Railroad, mentioned no such work detail in the annual report.⁸⁹ Regardless of whomever removed the rails, they were restored to the B&O by July, 1862.⁹⁰

Perhaps it was an unfitting fate for the world’s first military railroad that with most of its visible remnants removed, knowledge of the railroad passed into oblivion. Though the dearth of information could be in part explained by the condition of the Confederate war records following the Civil War, a more substantial reason could be the simple lack of concrete evidence for the railroad’s existence. Rather than becoming one of the glorious “firsts,” such as the flight of Wilbur and Orville Wright, the Centreville Military Railroad, a premier achievement of its kind, has received little recognition at all. Nevertheless, its completion was yet another component of several other Confederate accomplishments in the early stages of the war. When viewed as a whole, this string of successful applications gave the South a preeminence in the employment of modern military railroad strategy.

Footnotes

¹. United States History Society, Inc., “Civil War: The Bitter War Between the States,” *Pictorial Encyclopedia of American History* 1968, VII, 490.

². John M. Blum and others, *National Experience*, 4th ed. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, Inc., 1977), p. 193.

³. *Pictorial Encyclopedia of American History*, p. 493.

⁴. Blum, p. 326.

⁵. *Pictorial Encyclopedia of American History*, p. 497.

⁶. *Ibid.* p. 510.

- ⁷. "Civil War: Civil War, U.S.," *Encyclopedia Britannica* 1980, Micropedia, XI, 959.
- ⁸. O. Jensen, *The American Heritage History of Railroads in America* (New York: American Heritage Publishing Co., Inc., 1975), p. 63.
- ⁹. Jensen. p. 63.
- ¹⁰. Jensen. p. 63.
- ¹¹. C. Ogburn, *Railroads: The Great American Adventure* (Washington: National Geographic Society, 1977), p. 21.
- ¹². Ogburn, p. 23.
- ¹³. Angus Johnston II, *Virginia Railroads in the Civil War* (New York: Van Rees Press, 1961), pp. 28-30.
- ¹⁴. Johnston, p. 59.
- ¹⁵. *Ibid.* pp. 23-24.
- ¹⁶. *Ibid.* p. 59.
- ¹⁷. W. Barrett Brown, "The 'Johnston Spur,'" *North-South Trader*, November-December, 1977, p. 22.
- ¹⁸. *Ibid.*
- ¹⁹. B. Franklin Cooling, *Historical Highlights of Bull Run Regional Park* (Fairfax, VA: Fairfax County Division of Planning, 1971), p. 55.
- ²⁰. Johnston, p. 264. Lee mistakenly bestowed its more famous name of "the Army of Northern Virginia" when he accidentally referred to it as such the day he assumed command from General Johnston (June 1, 1862).
- ²¹. Cooling, p. 55.
- ²². *Ibid.*
- ²³. Nan Netherton and others, *Fairfax County, Virginia, A History*. (Fairfax, VA: Fairfax County Board of Supervisers, 1978), pp. 333-334. Union troops were abashed to discover upon the capture of Centreville in early 1862 that many of the field guns were "Quaker guns," simple maple logs painted similar to cannon.
- ²⁴. Cooling, p. 57.
- ²⁵. Chuck Thompson, "Return to Manassas," *North-South Trader*, March-April, 1976, p. 27.
- ²⁶. The present road is called the Old Centreville Road. According to a map of the Centreville District drawn up in 1878 by G. M. Hopkins, the road was then identified as the Manassas Road.
- ²⁷. Cooling, p. 59.
- ²⁸. Joseph Mills Hanson, *Bull Run Remembers* (Washington, D.C.: National Capital Publications, 1953), p. 40.
- ²⁹. Cooling, p. 59.
- ³⁰. Hanson, p. 40.
- ³¹. Brown, p. 22.
- ³². Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Meeting...of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad Company (Richmond, 1861), p. 22.
- ³³. *Ibid.*
- ³⁴. Netherton, pp. 320-321.
- ³⁵. Proceedings of the Twelfth..., p. 22.
- ³⁶. *Ibid.*
- ³⁷. "Railroad From Manassas to Centreville," *Daily Richmond Examiner*, November 30, 1861, 2.
- ³⁸. *Ibid.*
- ³⁹. Johnston, p. 265.
- ⁴⁰. This assertion was supported by Angus Johnston II, in his book, *Virginia Railroads in the Civil War* (see bib.), for several reasons. (1) It was common to hire slaves for a year.

(2) The army evidently hoped to keep the slaves productive during the normally languid winter months. (3) Many slaves worked for the Confederacy on the railroads during the course of the war.

⁴¹. Johnston, p. 265.

⁴². Alfred M. Barbour, "Wanted Notice! Notice!! Notice!!!," *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, January 10, 1862, 3.

⁴³. Johnston, p. 36.

⁴⁴. "Samuel Ruth and General R. E. Lee," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 71, 1963, pp. 38-43.

⁴⁵. 36th Annual Report of the President and Directors to the Stockholders of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company: 1862 (Baltimore [1862]), p. 49.

⁴⁶. "Our Own Correspondent—Centreville December 11," *Daily Richmond Examiner*, December 14, 1861, 1. The newspaper account, dated December 11, stated that "[contracts] have just been entered into for building a railroad from Manassas to this point. The line has just been surveyed through and is now being leveled." Johnston (*VA Railroads*) also supports this approximate date in his book. However, other authors have provided conflicting dates for the exact commencement of construction; Hanson (*Bull Run Remembers*) implies that the decision to build was not reached until January, 1862, while Sharp's biographer in *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* states that Sharp was not even ordered to build the railroad until February, 1862. The fact that the December date is more accurate than the others is supported by, besides that newspaper account, several other documents. The November meeting of the directors of the Orange and Alexandria railroad indicated that the railroad was already in prospect at that time. In addition, the November 30th edition of the *Richmond Daily Dispatch* proved conclusively, since it announced the search for workers, that plans for the railroad had already been formulated.

⁴⁷. *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, p. 42.

⁴⁸. *Ibid.*

⁴⁹. *Ibid.*

⁵⁰. *Daily Richmond Examiner*, December 14, 1861, p. 1.

⁵¹. *Ibid.*

⁵². *Ibid.*

⁵³. Several historians of the area, particularly A. Johnston, Hanson, and Cooling, have mentioned the still evident traces where blasting occurred. Hanson further goes on to disclose specifically that "common black powder" was used. Our own investigations have revealed to us an area where present day indications of apparent blast areas can be discerned.

⁵⁴. Brown, pp. 22, 23.

⁵⁵. Brown, pp. 22, 23.

⁵⁶. There is photographic evidence of this bridge which was taken by Brady during its existence, please see Appendix A.

⁵⁷. In researching the Brady photograph, found on page 60 in Cooling's book, *Historical Highlights of Bull Run Regional Park*, we discovered that the National Archives, from whom Cooling received the photo, designates this picture as one of a trestle bridge over White Oak Swamp, a part of the Chickahominy River located just east of Richmond, Virginia. A closer examination of the photograph revealed the markings "MGRR 12" on the flat car. This is the marking for the Manassas Gap Railroad which branched off of the O&A Railroad at Manassas Junction. Furthermore, on observing a Manassas Gap Railroad car by a small bridge which had only one track, one can conclude that this was the bridge of the Centreville Military Railroad over Bull Run which was reported as being of sufficient design for quick construction. In Appendix A, four

different photographs of the bridge, courtesy of the Manassas National Battlefield Park, United States Department of the Interior, are shown. However, the prints at the park are also erroneously labelled; they identify the bridge as “the bridge over Blackburn’s Ford,” a locale downstream from the actual crossing which had, in reality, only a pontoon bridge in place during the Civil War (where Route 28 crosses Bull Run today).

⁵⁸. Brady photographs at the National Archives of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad bridge across Bull Run (Bull Run Bridge), built with stone foundations, showed it destroyed after the spring freshet of 1863. Brady Collection, National Archives.

⁵⁹. Brown, p. 23.

⁶⁰. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (129 volumes and index; Washington, 1880-1901), Series I, vol. V, p. 738.

⁶¹. *Ibid.*

⁶². Unpublished letter from Capt. Sam Jones, 2nd Brigade, 11th Division, Army of the Potomac, Virginia to unknown dated February 17, 1862.

⁶³. *Ibid.*

⁶⁴. It is unclear as to what was the exact date of the railroad’s completion. As can be seen from the date of the correspondence above, as of February 17, 1862, work was not yet finished on the railroad. However, Johnston (*VA Railroads*) notes that the railroad was in operation “[for] a few weeks.” If we counted back from the Confederate evacuation date of March 9, 1862, and assumed that “few” means “two to three,” then we would get a rough time span from February 16, 1862, to February 23, 1862, for the completion date of the railroad. Thus, work terminated on the railroad some time between the 18th and the 23rd of February, 1862.

⁶⁵. Hanson, p. 40.

⁶⁶. Map of the Bull Run Area, R677, 1862, National Archives.

⁶⁷. The exact termination of the railroad was originally marked by a Park Service sign erected under the direction of the Dept. of Interior (see Appendix C). According to Rev. William M. Peterson, St. John’s Episcopal Church, Centreville, Virginia, the sign, placed in the thirties, existed until the early seventies. In fact, a newspaper story (Delores J. Morris, “Troop 1148 Hikes On Civil War Railroad,” *The Journal Messenger*, Manassas, Va., October 20, 1966, A-B), reported that scouts, “following the trail [of the railroad,] ... found an old marker denoting the beginning of the railroad placed there by the National Battlefield Park Service.” Rev. Peterson’s search early in 1983, as well as our own investigation in April, 1983, in the area the sign was located (woods to the south of the drive leading to the Murtaugh residence—see maps and pictures in Appendix C), proved to be fruitless as no evidence of the sign remains.

An interesting passage on the sign relates of a Confederate execution that occurred December 9, 1861. Two Zouaves, Dennis Cochrane and Mike O’Brien, who were members of Major Rob Wheat’s “picturesque and pugnacious” Louisiana Tigers, were sentenced to execution by firing squad by Gen. Taylor of the Louisiana Brigade for violating the “ninth article of war.” Though Wheat interceded in their behalf, they were nevertheless executed and subsequently buried near an old elm tree by the sign.

Charles L. Dufor, *Gentle Tiger: The Gallant Life of Roberdeau Wheat* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1957), pp. 160-163.

“Roberdeau Wheat,” *Virginia Cavalcade*, Spring, 1969, vol. XVIII, #4, p. 39.

Rev. Peterson has informed us of a recent Smithsonian Institution mission that succeeded in locating the bodies of the two men. The executed Confederate soldiers will now be reburied at St. John’s.

⁶⁸. Map of the Bull Run Area.

⁶⁹. Mr. Laurance Mitchell, of Bull Run Ranch, Virginia, in the late '60s provided Rev. Peterson with a hand-drawn map of the present crossing area. It showed where the low track bed was partially visible. We copied this map from Rev. Peterson and our follow-up search revealed the crossing at Bull Run (photo in Appendix C.).

⁷⁰. Thompson, p. 27.

⁷¹. Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Meeting ... of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad Company (Lynchburg, 1862), p. 24.

It noted "the destruction and burning on the Manassas and Centreville Railroads, while under control of Government [sic]" of thirty-five freight cars. Therefore, it can be observed that at least thirty-five cars operated between the Manassas Gap and Centreville Railroads.

⁷². *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, p. 43. For a complete copy of his orders, please see Appendix B.

⁷³. *Ibid.*

⁷⁴. Johnston, p. 39.

⁷⁵. Netherton, pp. 327-328.

⁷⁶. Netherton, p. 333.

⁷⁷. Johnston, p. 39.

⁷⁸. Brown, p. 23.

A correspondent at Manassas Junction "reported that five hundred barrels of flour stove in and two hundred barrels of vinegar and molassas mingled together. All told about 1,500,000 pounds of food stuff were destroyed."

⁷⁹. Proceedings of the Thirteenth..., p. 24.

⁸⁰. Hanson relates that William Murtaugh and others were able to pick up charred remnants from this conflagration for many years afterwards. Unfortunately, Rev. Peterson stated in an interview that no such traces remained on the farm anymore (see Appendix C).

W. Barrett Brown reported a story in his article "The 'Johnston Spur':"

"...[A] large ham ... only slightly damaged by the flames of the burning freight cars at the Centreville terminus of the line [was left behind]. A small boy living in a cabin to the north of the terminal, whose family was all but starving, shouldered the ham and started up the hill to his home. He was overtaken by two Union scouts who were preparing for McClellan's troops to move in. They asked him where he got the ham and what he was going to do with it. Then, they took it away from him. The crest-fallen boy returned home empty-handed."

⁸¹. Brown, p. 23.

That the bridge was destroyed rather than burned is indicated by the existence of several Mathew Brady Civil War photographs of the ruined trestle (see Appendix A).

A boy scout troop "crossed the old bridge that still has the old trussel [sic] supports put there when the original railroad was built," in 1966. (Morris, p. 4-B) No such evidence remains today (see Appendix C).

⁸². Cooling, p. 61.

⁸³. There is some dispute as to who actually ordered this uprooting of the railroad. Dr. Cooling (page 61) states that Haupt had decided to use these rails to repair parts of the Manassas Gap Railroad. However, Johnston (page 265) shows that the decision was made in a letter between Quartermaster-General M. C. Meigs to Col. D. C. McCallum, who was Haupt's superior in the U.S. Military Railroads, dated May 20, 1862 (Record Group 92, Office of the Quartermaster General, Consolidated Correspondence File 1794-1915, U.S. Military Railroad Papers, National Archives).

Unfortunately, this and other letters referred to later, also from the same file at the

National Archives, were not found by us, upon our visit, early in April, 1983. Dr. Cooling and Rev. Peterson have personally indicated to us, when we mentioned this problem to them, that they were able to find some of these letters in question in the course of their own research. However, their investigations were in the late sixties and it is possible that these documents are no longer at the Archives.

⁸⁴. Johnston, p. 36. (J. W. Garret to Edwin M. Stanton, Washington, D.C., May 21, 1862. Record Group 92. Office of the Quartermaster General, Consolidated Correspondence File 1794-1915, U.S. Military Railroad Papers, National Archives).

⁸⁵. Brown, p. 23.

⁸⁶. 37th Annual Report of the President and directors to the Stockholders of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company: 1863 (Baltimore [1865]), p. 6.

⁸⁷. 37th Annual Report ..., p. 6.

⁸⁸. Johnston, p. 36. (Assistant Secretary of War P. H. Watson to Col. D. C. McCallum, Washington, D.C., May 22, 1862. Record Group 92. Office of the Quartermaster General, Consolidated Correspondence File 1794-1915, U.S. Military Railroad Papers, National Archives).

⁸⁹. 37th Annual Report ..., p. 6. This by itself could not preclude the possibility that the B&O did not actually uproot the track itself, since in another case, Gen. J. E. Johnston never did mention the construction of the Centreville Military Railroad at all in his book, *Narrative of Military Operations* (1874). However, Cooling also asserts that it was Federal military construction crews who ripped up the tracks (Cooling, p. 61).

⁹⁰. Brown, p. 23.

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And You Think That You Have Money Problems!

by
Elvin B. Miller

In April, 1861, the start of the northern aggression against the southern states, coins of all denominations were being hoarded. Small change and paper currency of \$5.00 or less were in great demand.

To alleviate the shortage a number of different solutions were tried. One was the use of postage stamps; another was the issuance of paper scrip (printed I.O.U.'s) by various businessmen, and still another was the printing of small change notes by the railroads.

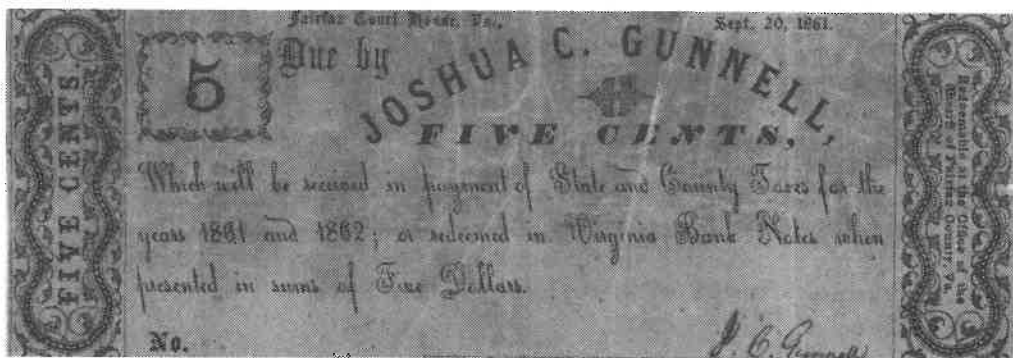
The Constitution had prohibited the states from issuing paper money. After the secession of the southern states, the Confederacy issued its first notes in July, 1861. Its smallest denomination was \$5.00. The need for small change was still an on-going problem.

The Virginia General Assembly on March 29, 1862, passed a law entitled: "An act to provide a currency of notes of less denomination than five dollars," which authorized Virginia counties and cities and towns of over 2,000 population and the towns of Leesburg, Lewisburg and Warrenton to issue small change paper money. Prior to this the sheriffs of some of the counties had issued notes or scrip to meet the emergency. One of the sheriffs was Joshua C. Gunnell of Fairfax County. The notes issued, all dated September 20, 1861, were of the denominations of 5¢, 10¢, 15¢, 50¢ and \$1.00. These notes today are quite rare, especially if they are in a high grade of preservation. Most of the notes known are in less than good condition.

Elvin Miller has an extensive collection of national bank notes. His special interest is in those issued in his home county of Loudoun, when, during the War

*Between the States, the Leesburg branch of the Bank of the Valley printed several series of notes. For further information on the subject Miller suggests reading by Charles J. Affleck, *Obsolete Paper Money of Virginia*, Vols. I and II. Hampton, Va.: Virginia Numismatick Association, 1970.*

The Federal Government confiscated the Alexandria end of this railroad on May 24, 1861. The only notes known are unsigned and dated May 25, 1861. After the war this railroad was known as the Washington and Old Dominion Railroad.



The Postal History of Fairfax County During the Civil War

by
Robert L. Lisbeth

The 25 Fairfax County postmasters working at the opening of the Civil War had some rather unusual postal experiences. Their working lives were soon closely related to the troop movements and battles raging just outside their post offices. Coping with events beyond their control were the following postmasters:

<u>Post Office</u>	<u>Postmaster</u>	<u>Appointment Date</u>
Accotink	Frederick A. Augustein	22 Dec 1857
Anna (Lewinsville)	Ransom S. Main	4 Jun 1860
Annandale (Springfield Depot)	John H. Gorges	22 Oct 1857
Ayr Hill (Vienna)	Henry S. Wiehle	25 Oct 1861
Burke's Station	Mrs. Ann C. Simpson	29 Dec 1860
Centreville	William Forsyth	2 Feb 1859
Chantilly	Miss Harriet E. Ross	10 Sep 1860
Dranesville	Charles W. Coleman	9 Jul 1857
Dye's Mills	Robert J. Simpson	8 Jul 1859
Fairfax C.H.	William R. Chapman	17 Jun 1857
Fairfax Station	William Dickson	7 Jan 1859
Falls Church	William H. Moore	5 Apr 1860
Friendship	William Payne	18 May 1858
Herndon	William W. Hollingsworth	13 Jul 1858
Hunter's Mills	George W. Hunter	10 Jul 1860
Langley	Josiah D. Burke	24 Nov 1860
Mount Pierce	John H. Urquhart	24 Jan 1853

Mount Vernon	Upton H. Herbert	4 Mar 1861
Peach Grove	William Tyson	12 Jul 1854
Pleasant Valley	James L. Cross	4 Jan 1856
Prospect Hill	Mark C. Jones	10 Apr 1851
Sangster's Station	Zephaniah Beckley	9 Jan 1860
Spring Vale	John F. Swank	3 Dec 1860
Theological Seminary	William Sparrow	16 Dec 1842
Thornton's Depot (Republican Mills)	William H. Thornton	27 Jun 1860

These postmasters suspected things would be quite different (but not the chaos) once the convention in Richmond voted to secede on April 17, 1861. Prior to this the Fairfax postmasters probably knew that the Confederate Congress had passed a Postal Act on February 23 prescribing new postal regulations and postage rates. Confederate rates were considerably higher — five cents for distances under 500 miles and ten cents over 500 miles until June 1, 1862, when all distances were ten cents. U.S. rates were three cents under 3,000 miles and ten cents over 3,000 miles until June 30, 1863, when all distances were three cents. It is easy to see why the C.S.A. postal system was profitable while the Federal system was not. Fairfax postmasters had to be aware of both systems because they had no way of predicting the future course of events.

On May 13 Fairfax County postmasters received word from Confederate Postmaster General John H. Reagan that his department would “take charge of the postal service of the Confederate States on or after June 1st, 1861.” Postmaster Reagan also instructed all postmasters “to render final accounts to Washington and return all stamps and envelopes on hand on May 31, 1861.” This seems to have been widely disregarded as few U.S. stamps and stamped envelopes were returned to Washington. U.S. Postmaster General Montgomery Blair then feared that the South would smuggle stamps and stamped envelopes North and help finance the South. For this reason, he began to demonitize existing issues and in August began issuing a new design series of stamps and postal stationery.

On May 24 U.S. Postmaster General Blair made the announcement that Southern state postmasters could continue directing mail north with U.S. stamps affixed until May 28th. Thereafter only a small amount of mail from seceded states continued north until late August through three express companies operating out of Nashville and Louisville. Later in the war “flag of truce” and “prisoner of war” letters were officially exchanged at certain designated points like Old Point Comfort, Virginia. Unofficially letters were smuggled across the Potomac River between Virginia and Maryland using rowboats

with muffled oar locks. Virginia and Maryland mail smugglers were skillful and elusive.

Before June 1 in some parts of Fairfax County, postmasters did not allow the New York *Tribune* to pass through their post offices. Subscribers were threatened by rebel sympathizers. This censorship was not new. For the 30 years before the war, anti-slavery literature was destroyed as it came through the Southern mail system. No government authorities from the President down to local postmasters discouraged such practices. President Andrew Jackson even recommended a law to prohibit the mailing of "incendiary publications intended to instigate the slaves to insurrection." In July 1836 Congress passed an opposite law that prohibited destruction or stoppage of mail. But Southern postmasters continued this practice until mail ceased between north and south.

On May 24, 1861, one day after Virginia elections ratifying the Secession Ordinance, Federal troops crossed the Potomac River into Fairfax County to guard approaches into Washington. A line of forts and camps began to appear around Alexandria, through Bailey's Cross Roads, to Arlington Heights. It was reported on May 28 that "the mail for the South from Washington was stopped at the crossing place by Federal troops, and was returned to the post office in Washington."

During the last week in May, Fairfax postmasters probably began to see an increase or decrease in mail volume as Southern sympathizers moved to the safety of western Fairfax County, away from U.S. troops, and Northern sympathizers moved to Washington and points north.

On June 1, 1861, in Virginia, C.S.A. Postmaster General Reagan never controlled the post offices in eastern and northern Fairfax County along the Potomac River, Alexandria, Old Point Comfort, the counties of Accomack and Northampton, and in many parts of present day West Virginia. Postmasters that may have remained loyal to the Northern postal system from June 1 until July 21 were those located within the present I-495 beltway such as Falls Church, Friendship and Mount Pierce. The Theological Seminary post office probably closed when students left due to the end of the school year and the start of the war. Other post offices just outside the present day beltway like Accotink, Annandale and Burke's Station may have operated as Confederate post offices. Those that most likely became Confederate post offices were Ayr Hill (Vienna), Dranesville, Dye's Mills, Falls Church after July 21, Herndon, Hunter's Mills, Lewinsville, Peach Grove, Pleasant Valley, Prospect Hill, Sangster's Station, Spring Vale, and Thornton's Depot. However, no letters so postmarked exist to prove any of these statements. Only troop move-

ments, camps and forts provide clues to the type of postal system in each town.

Proven Confederate post offices in Fairfax County include Centreville, Chantilly, Fairfax Court House and Fairfax Station. The early morning raid of June 1 by Federal troops on Fairfax Court House that was repulsed only brought in rebel reinforcements and made it a more secure Southern post office. For the first 47 days of the Confederacy, six letters have been recorded with postmarks from Fairfax Court House and only two from Fairfax Station. It is thought that mail picked up from each Confederate Fairfax County post office was brought to Tudor Hall (Manassas) and placed on the Orange and Alexandria Rail Road for transportation.

Throughout the Civil War in Fairfax County, soldiers' mail was handled differently on each side. The mail of tens of thousands of Union troops was handled by soldiers who brought the collected mail into Washington or, in a few cases, into Alexandria for postmarking and processing. On the other hand, Confederate soldiers' mail was handled by the nearest civilian post office.

On July 17 when Federal troops marched into western Fairfax County the Confederate troops withdrew behind Bull Run Creek. Confederate postmasters caught in the wave of this advancing army either fled with the C.S.A. troops or went into hiding. In either case it seems likely that almost all of the Confederate post offices temporarily closed.

After the First Battle of Manassas (or Bull Run) and the hasty retreat of Federal troops back to Washington, the Confederate post offices open before July 17 in Fairfax County reopened. Confederate Fairfax County postmasters who returned to stick it out during this deadly game were brave indeed.

This memorable battle also meant that more of the Fairfax Yankees who had not left before now fled with the U.S. troops to safety. It was at this point that any operating U.S. post offices in eastern Fairfax County probably closed.

While Federal post offices were discontinued, one Confederate post office was established in Fairfax County. Its name was Van Dorn but its date of opening, location, and postmaster(s) did not survive in the records kept at Richmond.

For approximately the next three months until October 16, both postal services stabilized. But, on October 16 the Confederate postal services ended at Fairfax Court House and Fairfax Station (plus most likely at all of the others except Centreville). One letter exists from Fairfax Court House dated October 16, 1861. On that very day Confederate troops pulled back to Bull Run Creek and the heights of Centreville after an alert. October 16 was also the first day that

Confederate States postage stamps were available in post offices. The soldiers that concentrated at Centreville dramatically increased postal activities at that post office and made use of the newly arrived postage stamps depicting Jefferson Davis (5 cent green) and Thomas Jefferson (ten cent blue).

Despite Centreville's increased postal activities, Centreville's Postmaster William Forsyth did not necessarily receive increased postal revenues because by this time soldiers could mail letters unpaid with the actual postage being collected at the addressee's post office. When Southern troops pulled out of Centreville on March 9, 1862, the Confederate States of America postal services came to an end in Fairfax County. The only other Confederate mail entering or leaving Fairfax County was hand carried.

The total number of Confederate letters recorded postmarked from Fairfax County post offices during these then months is as follows:

10	Centreville
2	Chantilly
41	Fairfax Court House
<u>7</u>	<u>Fairfax Station</u>
60	Minimum total

It is entirely possible that an equal number exists but are not recorded to date.

One month after the Confederate postal service was discontinued in Fairfax County, Federal post offices began to reappear. Only four would reopen before the end of the war and during April and May of 1862. Fairfax Court House, Falls Church, Vienna (Ayr Hill), and Accotink reopened in that order. Service was not more extensive because many people had fled the county and Federal control was still tenuous. Postal activity at these four post offices was indeed slow because no letters so postmarked have been recorded from their opening in the spring of 1862 until the end of the Civil War.

Until the end of the war all postal appointments and trade were very much controlled by military authorities. Like millions of Southerners, loyalty oaths were the order of the day and postmasters were not exempt.

With the surrender of Lee's army on April 9, 1865, Fairfax County citizens began the long road to recovery by resuming farming and opening businesses. This reemerging economy required post offices for communication with customers, suppliers and distant friends. Mail moved faster as roads, bridges, canals, and railroads were repaired, improved or added. Northerners began to settle in Fairfax County after the war and post offices became more important to the ever increasing population.

The reopening of U.S. post offices in Fairfax County during and after the Civil War is as follows:

<i>Post Office</i>	<i>Postmaster</i>	<i>Appointment Date</i>	<i>Order of Opening</i>
Accotink	*Frederick A. Augustein	23 May 1862	4
Annandale	J. Windsbecker	15 Nov 1865	10
Burke's Station	Discontinued	26 Dec 1866	26
Centreville	Benjamin Utterback	22 Nov 1865	11
Chantilly	Sobeiski L. Chapin	18 Dec 1866	25
Dranesville	William Dyer	14 Nov 1865	9
Dye's Mills	John L. Detwiller	11 Oct 1865	8
Fairfax Court House	Henry T. Brooks	11 Apr 1862	1
Fairfax Court House	Walter B. Hoag	17 Jun 1862	
Fairfax Court House	Job Hawxhurst	1 Aug 1865	
Fairfax Station	Discontinued	9 Jul 1866	18
Falls Church	George B. Ives	18 Apr 1862	2
Friendship	Discontinued	9 Jul 1866	19
Herndon	Octavus Torry	6 Sep 1865	6
Hunter's Mills	Discontinued	9 Jul 1866	20
Langley	William Means	28 Nov 1865	12
Lewinsville			
(Anna)	Frank H. Jenney	28 Aug 1865	5
Mount Pierce	Discontinued	22 Aug 1866	21
Mount Vernon	Discontinued	28 Aug 1866	22
Painters	Joseph H. Painter	22 Jan 1866	16
Peach Grove	James W. Green	24 Jan 1866	17
Peach Grove	Mrs. Lucietia Merry	5 Feb 1866	
Peach Grove	Discontinued	13 Jun 1866	
Pleasant Valley	William W. Palmer	6 Sep 1865	7
Prospect Hill	William S. Oliver	2 Jan 1866	13
Sangster's Station	Discontinued	29 Sep 1866	24
Springfield Depot			
(Annandale)	Timothy Murphy	28 Aug 1866	23
Spring Vale	Daniel L. Borden	2 Jan 1866	14
Theological			
Seminary	Miss Frances Sparrow	15 Jan 1866	15
Thornton's Depot	Joseph Thornton	24 May 1867	27
Vienna			
(Ayr Hill)	William Hendrick	20 May 1862	3

*Postmaster before the war.

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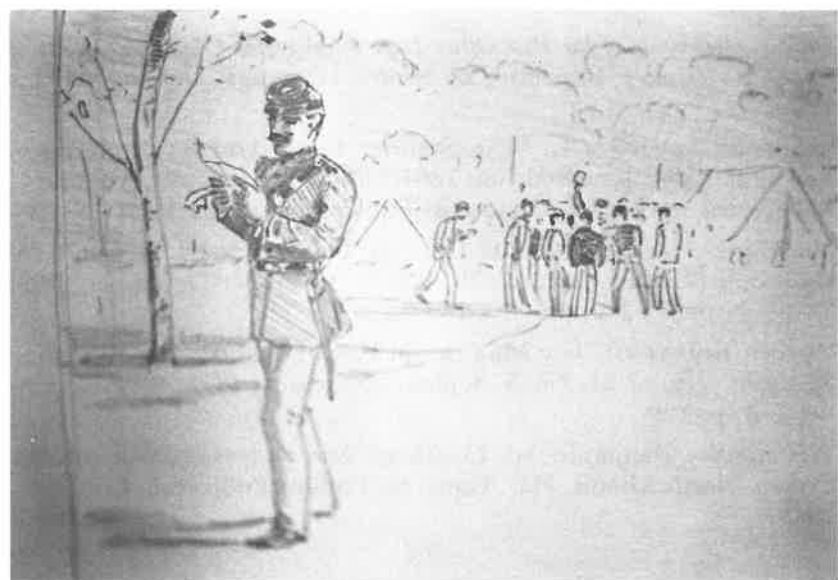
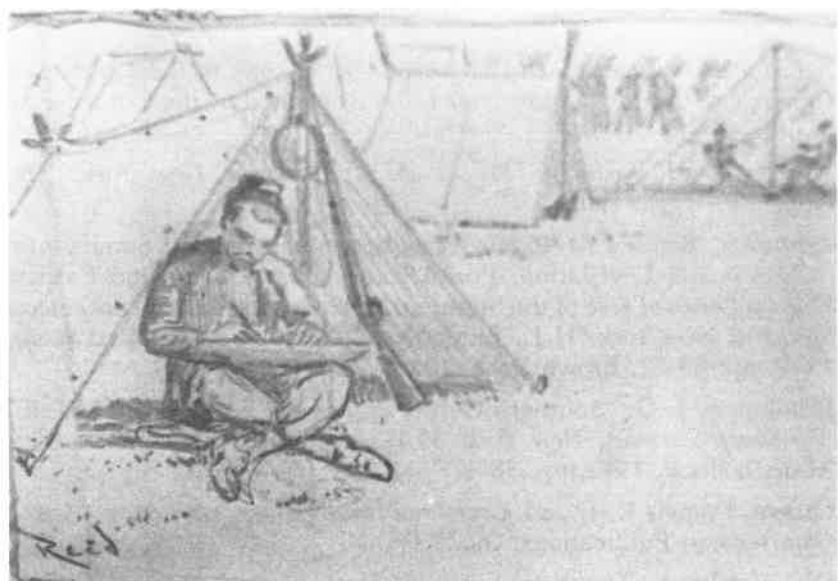
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Letters Postmarked Fairfax County 1861-62

Edited by
Lewis Leigh, Jr.
(from letters in his collection)
with notes
by Dr. Joseph L. Harsh

The following excerpts from letters written by soldiers and civilians from various places within the County and at various times during the war provide an overview of the immense upheaval here during that turbulent period of time. Themes of neighbor against neighbor, destruction of fields, woods and fences, theft of poultry and livestock, damage to houses and churches, and above all the uncertainty of what tomorrow would bring run strong through all these letters. Yet even during such times, amusing incidents do occur and laughter does replace tears! — Lewis Leigh, Jr.

The numbers in parentheses at the end of each letter, e.g. "bk" for "book" 58, indicate the position of the original in Mr. Leigh's collection and should be included in any queries made to him about a specific letter.

The beginning summaries and end notations were made by Dr. Joseph L. Harsh, former chairman of the Department of History at George Mason University. Dr. Harsh teaches American History, and has a special interest in the Civil War. He is presently writing a book on the War in Fairfax County.

Chapter 1

This first group of letters was written before the first battle of Bull Run (Manassas). At this time the Confederates were concentrating their forces around the railhead at Manassas Junction, with outposts at Fairfax Court House and Flint Hill (present day Oakton). Federal forces, having achieved their first objective in the occupation of Arlington Heights and Alexandria, were gathering in force just

across the Potomac River in Virginia, while Horace Greeley in his New York *Tribune* was urging them ever more stridently "Onward to Richmond!"

B.S. Carpenter—a civilian living at or near Ayr Hill (now Vienna) addressed to Col. J.S. Crocker, Cambridge, Washington Co., N.Y. who after the war became an influential citizen of Vienna. 5/30/61.

"Dear Brother—Yours has been duly received and I hasten to reply you will perceive that I have changed front or right about faced since I last wrote you that's so. I go in for the motto that heads this sheet *secession* is but a name for all that is devilish and infernal if you or any one else were here only one week you would see a fair illustration of Mexican despotism you would see the most intense hatred of those anti-white labor Nero's that would cause your blood to boil with indignation and would make you turn away from them with loathing and contempt. Men are persecuted and threatened with violence and even with hanging for wishing to cling to that government which has protected them in their civil and religious liberty, which has thrown over them and around them a halo of Freedom and prosperity that no other government under heaven has. Men are fleeing for their lives for wishing to preserve the *union* of these States which was formed for the protection of our lives and property. Secession leaders marched about breathin vengeance on all who would not enrol themselves with them under the black banner of *Treason* whose baneful shadow is not unlike the poisonous effects of the shadow of the deadly *Ypas tree*. It had spread a blight and desolation over the country; it has paralysed and prostrated business and the energy of the people; it has destroyed the confidence between friends and neighbors; it has made vacant firesides and empty houses; it has made silent workshops and deserted villages; it has silenced the ploughmans song and the waggons rattle on the roads, and last but not least of all it seeks to pull down the strong pillars of the wisest and best of governments, and if they can accomplish no more involve all in one common total overthrow.—It makes my heart bleed to see the people leaving for life fleeing from that *demon* of *secession* which would wring the last drop of blood from one's heart for wishing to live in the *union the land of the free and the home of the brave*. Thirty four families left Vienia in two days with what they could hastily gather up and then bid adieu to thier homes for which they have toiled to make comfortable and pleasant—John, a great gloom is over the land like some great and sudden calamity the sun seems to shine through some kind of a veil which casts a shade of sadness over heavens and earth—not unlike the feeling of some swift and sudden calamity about to happen, that strikes terror and dread to the heart. Men were deprived of the elective franchise through fear

and suffer all the horrors of a reign of terror rather than vote at all. The Federal troops are in Virginia in that part that once was the district which makes them about four miles from us. and even their shadow at that distance is some protection but not enough to make us entirely free from alarm. A move is soon to be made where and when is not known as a large number of the troops are under marching orders at an hours notice. If you could be in Washington only one weeke you would be astonished to see the amount of military array. I saw the New Hampshire 1st Regt. come in with 16 baggage wagons, & they were as fine a body of men as you ever saw equiped and armed to the teeth. Gen Scotts occupation of Va. was so sudden that it struck terror to the hearts of the secession leaders in our place and they left in a perfect stampede sothat we are now free from their persecutions all we fear now is night attacks from bands of sculking cowards we are between the lines of the two parties, the sentries are five miles apart the virginians are posted at Gantts hill and Widow Jacksons and the Union pickets at waggamans, there were 3 shots fired upon them at foot of the second hill last night which was returned by 4 of the guard who let their mark on one, which was tracked $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile by the blood. our men are very indignant at such a mode of indian warfare and will soon retaliate unless they cease their cowardly attacks. *Ellen Virginia is a secessionist.* I have rented your place to a Dr. Harrold for \$50. dollars until the 1st day of Jan 1862 the price may appear small but it was the best I could do, and I thought it better to have some one to cultivate it and take care of it at a low rent than it should go to ruin. Lott will take care of Wills things subject to your order, he has the cows on his place. You need not pay anything on your place this year there is a stay law which prevents executions. Door refuses to pay that note. We are all well and send our love to you and your family. Yours &c B.S. Carpenter. N.B. Direct to Georgetown D.C. our mails are discontinued." (Bk. 58)

"Requisition by Col. I.I. Seibels, 6th Alabama Vols., at Fairfax Station, Va. on June 26, 1861 for 150 pounds of rifle powder and 20,000 rifle caps." (Bk. 59)

(Col. Seibel's regiment, the 6th Alabama Volunteers, was part of Ewell's Brigade, Beauregard's Army of the Potomac.)

Early Confederate Scouting Report from Fairfax Court House.

"Head Quarters advanced from at Fairfax Court House July 5 1861 Mr. McCrea went down night before last July 4th 1861 Information that they have a fortification at Clouds Mills of flour barrells with sand and stone logs in them a temporary concern. a force of 3 to

400 at Cloud Mills all together 30 to 40 in a house just below clearlands right on the pike & the run 3 to 4 pickets beyond that. Pickets also to Urquharts also in bushes on pike & on road from Anandale to Bailey X Roads. Got into a picket but no firings.

They have been scouting about the woods about Clouds Mills. was in half mile of the Mills. They lie about in the woods all night about 4 or 500 around these. They day after the Baketrust Company took two prisoners.

They are escorted by Goodwell a Yankee staying at Demings, also a Yankee. Goodwell acts as a guide for the federal troops steadily. Deming furnishes them with provisions & is continually with them.

Thomas Daniels a Virginian constantly with Yankees & communicating news to them lives on the place owned by Edgar Fleming of Alexandria —

Stout lives near widow Scotts — never could speak his sentiments until now He intends now to do it and act according.

These facts were told to scout by John Crump living 200 yards this side of Urquharts. Crump came out to my beckonings. They permitted him to go to Mill to get flour but lets no one pass at night & They fire without halting. They have troops near to Annandale church about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile off. Saw sentinel standing guard.

They are now going from Clouds Mills up to Barcrofts Mills through the woods at the run scouting. Annandale church is on the continuation of Braddock road after crossing little River Turnpike towards Masons.

Deming is $\frac{1}{4}$ mile N.W. of Urquharts — north side of Little River Turnpike.

Haraw an Irishman, overseer for Mr. Wylie whose farm adjoins Mr. James Beatons Gives information to enemy. Aids them in every particular.

Clouds Mills 3 miles out of Alexandria. Started night before last at 8 o'clock. Got back at 2 o'clock to day. slept in woods.

Cook was of great service courageous & keen sighted & reliable. Official, GW Lay, A.A." (Bk. 50)

(George W. Lay was adjutant to Bonham's Brigade of South Carolina regiments, stationed at Centreville and Fairfax Court House.)

Geo. McNeill — Confederate artilleryman — [probably officer Miss. or Ala.] Camp Beauregard, Va. 7/6/61.

"Dear Little Niece, I will satisfy your curiosity at once as to what was the evil genius that gave me the freight spoken of in my last letter. It was a very large pet coon which belonged to one of our neighbors and had gotten away with his chain around his neck and by

some means into our house. Our warehouseman had been sweeping the sample room & had left the tin watering pot on the floor. Mr. Coon being thirsty inserted his head carefully in the small hole near the handle to drink some water that was left, but in his haste to get it out when he heard me coming got fast and went rearing around the room with the tin pot on his head among the grave like piles, tobacco samples, rattling his chain and looking to me in the moonlight dim like a sure enough young demon! When I found out what it was it was so very funny. I had to laugh up there by myself until my sides were almost sore — — — — and you are determined to keep up with the times and have joined a military company, Miss Ada Cummings, Commander, but what are you? I am sure you ought to be entitled to some office. And what is the name of your company. If you have none I will suggest that you call it the "Fairy Invincibles." As I came on to Va. I saw a similar company at Knoxville with which I was so much taken that I noted down the names of the officers, Miss Sallie Crosier, Capt., Messes Sopline Kennedy & Fannie Wallace, first & second Lieuts. They styled their Company; The Fairy light guard. The officers especially were very pretty. — — — — Old Va. is a great old State. I like the old Va. girls particularly, they are so sociable & patriotic. — — — — It is whortleberry time and of course every one is fat and saucy." (Bk. 2)

(George McNeill was very likely a member of the famous Washington Artillery from Louisiana, the only artillery unit from the Gulf State South in Virginia at the time.)

Charles of Co. A, 3rd Maine Regt. Vol. Inf. Near Alexandria. 7/8/61.

"Dear Father—We...marched to our camp ground, which is about 2 miles northeast from the city, and the furtherist advanced of any troops in this direction, in time to get our tents up before dark. We are encamped in a very hot place on a side hill. About a mile east of us and looking us in the face is a battery behind which are encamped Ellsworths Zouaves, a Conn. Reg., one Penn, and one Mich. Last night a N.Y. Reg. moved between the battery and us... Yesterday our company was selected as picket guard, and are stationed a short distance from the encampment and have one room of a house for headquarters, at the junction of three roads, one leading to Mt. Vernon, one to Richmond and the other into the country some distance. In the day time the picket has not much to do as only a few guards are stationed around. but at night about 2/3rds of the Co. are stationed from one to three miles inward, and the cavalry hold themselves in readiness at the station for a reserve in case they are wanted. I was at the station last night and slept beneath the broad

canopy of the heavens. To night I go on the outside pickets. The most vigilant guard is placed about a mile and a half from here at the junction of the Fairfax and Richmond roads. Each picket is hid at the edge of the road, and any one travelling along stands a poor chance of his life as very few will challenge a person unless they feel pretty sure They are persons that have authority to travel in the night....The field officer of the day came along yesterday and told us there was a good chance of the pickets being attacked last night. As there is a force of 1500 rebels only seven miles from us, and there was a pretty sharp look out kept, but nothing appeared. Our encampment is only about a quarter of a mile from where a skirmish took place about a week ago and one of the Penn. 4th Reg. was killed. Every person that travels the road here that is not connected with the army, has to have a pass from some officer in the city, and no one can pass our station without showing it.

Three or four negroes were arrested yesterday, but they let them all go except one. they have him under arrest now....Alexandria is the most desolate looking place I ever saw. It is almost deserted....A few of us got leave of absence and went down to the city. Saw the President and cabinet and the big Generals review of the New York troops. Heard the Pres., Secs. Seward, Cameron, Chase & Smith and Gens. Dix, Sanford & Mansfield make remarks and then went up to the capitol and saw the Senate organise...

Before I write you again I expect we should have possession of Fairfax Court House and the country in the vicinity.

Our knapsacks on our last march were hauled by teams. The colonel concluded his men would not amount to much for some time if they have to carry such things as they are on their backs any distance. I should throw mine away with its contents if I had to march any distance with it on...Fall creek runs close to us which makes a fine chance to bathe." (Bk. 42)

("Charles" 3rd Maine infantry regiment was in O.O. Howard's Brigade, Heintzelman's Division. Howard University in Washington, D.C. was later named for the brigadier.)

Chapter II

These descriptions of the first Battle of Bull Run came from the pens of Southern soldiers.

Maj. P. Powers, Quartermaster on Gen. J.E.B. Stuart's Staff, to wife. 7/22/61.

“Earlier to-day my beloved wife I have sent you hurried notes of my safety—and our glorious victory. I have not time to write the particulars of the battle—can only say it raged for hours with incarnate fury—that our Regiment at one time was in the thickest of it but our loss was not very heavy—the Clarke (County) cavalry behaved very well and were much praised by Col. Stuart. The field of Battle after the fight presented the most awful sight you can imagine. I was sent over it with an order and at some points found it difficult to ride among the dead without treading on them. Headless, mangled, dying, oh my God what a sight—and what a sin—About 4 the enemy fled in utter confusion leaving everything behind them. Baggage of every description was strewn for miles. Muskets cannon wagon ambulances are now on the road for ten miles from the scene of action and are being collected and brought in within a few hundred yards of where we are now is a Church (at Centreville) wh(ich) they took possession of for a hospital in and around it are 279 dead & wounded—many out in this drenching rain will die before morning—Around are arms and legs. But why continue the the awful description! The sight of one tenth of what I have seen ought to make every one satisfied with the war and ready for peace—Our men have provided themselves with all kinds of Spoils—I have only taken Pistols and a few Small articles. One of which I send my little daughter Alice in this letter—They were amply provided with every comfort in the way of clothing and little conveniences, all of which they threw away to expedite their flight. They had 50000 men in the fight—we only 15000—our main force never getting in—Gen. Johnston told Col. Stuart last night that the Va. troops under Jackson won the day. Our loss is very heavy. I met with Botts after his Reg. had been in the fight—and with tears in his eyes he told me his men were cut to pieces & his dearest friends dead. I had no time to get names for the balls were falling thick and fast around. to-day I learned that the loss of this Reg. is not as heavy as was 1st supposed. But as we are encamped some 7 miles from the Junction I can not find out accurately who is killed—and who is safe. God keep you—and save this poor country from another such battle.

Note sent from the Battle field, of the glorious 21st of July, 1861. The battle of Manassas.” (Bk. 19)

(Phillip H. Powers, at the time of this writing, was Sergeant Major of the 1st Virginia Cavalry whose colonel was J.E.B. Stuart.)

(Same author)—*Camp at Fairfax Ct. House.* 7/23/61.

“My Dearest Wife, I write to night, though excessively fatigued.

Yesterday we had a drenching rain all day and most of last night, and being without our tents we could not escape the rain and wind. We broke our camp however about Midnight and marched to this place accompanied by Two regiments of infantry and one battery of Artillery. I was glad to leave (Centreville), for as I wrote you, we were near by a hospital of the enemy where were over 300 of their wounded, dead and dying. Many of them necessarily left out in all the inclemency of the weather to die. To stop by it was enough to soften and sicken the hardest heart. I will not dwell upon the awful scene — The Battle was nothing to this after piece. The excitement of the contest, the cheering of the soldiers, the triumph of Victory, rid the Battle field of many of its terrors. *Nothing — Nothing* could lessen the horrors of the field by moonlight — Enough — I cannot, I will not describe it — May God, in His infinite mercy, avert a second such calamity! Our march, after we got beyond the scenes of the fight, was rather cheering than otherwise. For Twelve miles the road was literally strewn with every description of Baggage, wagons, ambulances, barrels of sugar, crackers ground coffee & thousands of axes, spades, shovels, picks arms by the thousand — clothing of every description — cooking utensils — in fact every thing — and all left behind to expedite their flight — which was never stopped until they reached Washington — Our troops have been busily engaged in appropriating every thing they might possibly need, from a pin cushion to the finest army tent. In this place we found collected in several houses clothing enough to fill every room in our house — Their army was splendidly equipped, with every possible convenience and comfort. But I cannot account for their utter confusion and panic — Their own papers give our Regiment the credit of turning the tide of Victory on our side. The papers, if you can see them, will give you all particulars of the day.

Speaking just now of spoils, I only have taken what was necessary — and in some few little *notions*. Tell your brother I sent him by Kneller a revolver, a very good one I think, but different from any I have ever seen. I did not get the mould but any gun smith can make him a pair — or large Buck shot may answer — I took several fine ones — — — I do not know what our next move will be, but suppose it will be upon Alexandria — All I desire is to drive them from our soil and recover peace — I would not shed another drop —” (Bk. 19)

Col. Edward T. H. Warren, 10th Va. Vol. Inf. Fairfax Station. 7/25/61.

“...Beauregard is certainly throwing forward his troops in the direction of Alexandria...we are in the woods & moving rapidly from one place to another. You will hear through the papers a detailed account of our flight sooner & better than I can write it — all sorts of Rumors are afloat as to the action of the different officers & their fate

on the field. The Report has gone up the Valley that I was killed and on the field it was believed until night..." (Bk. 28)

(Col. Warren's unit was attached to Arnold Elzey's Brigade, Johnston's Army of the Shenandoah, one of those which arrived just before the battle began.)

Pvt. J.J. Hileman. 7/26/61.

"Dear Mother, i taken sick on sunday the 17th and i lay about there in the tents until wensday afterwards and the Yankees come on us and we had to retreat back to bulls run they were about a half doson (dozen) of us ataking the measles. at that time i thought i would give out ever step but i knowed it would not do to stop for the yankes was coming on be hind. they all stoped at bulls run but us sick fellows we went on to manassa. we got there about dark and we sprded down our blankets on the ground and stayed there until the next morning and the measels were out on me thick. that big walk run them out on me. we got on the cars (train) then and come down to a little town about 40 miles this side of Manassa called Culpepper..." (Bk. 17)

(J.J. Hileman of Co. H., 27th Virginia, was a part of the First Virginia Brigade, which was to become famous as the "Stonewall" Brigade.)

Lt. Wm. W. Blackford, Aide-de-Camp to Gen. J.E.B. Stuart — Head Quarters Fairfax C.H. 8/6/61.

"Dear Uncle John, We have been here since ten days after the Battle of Manassas and from present appearances we will be here for some time longer—We had a hard time of it for two days before and two days after the battle—We made a march of almost 80 miles during Friday and Saturday, from near Winchester to the battle field, starting about the middle of the day and reaching Piedmont at eleven oclock that night—We bivwackd in an orchard, gave our horses ½ doz ears of corn, and ourselves nothing to eat; started again at three the next morning, in a hard rain, wet, cold & hungry and halted to feed and breakfast at nine. Reached the battle field at sun down, and had a good nights rest in the brook sedge under clumps of pine brushes—The morning of the 21st we were up bright and early—and scouted in advance of the lines for an hour or two, ran into an infantry scouting party of the enemy who ran away from us, and we from them—Hearing the firing on our left becoming hot we fell back to the rear where we listened with furnish interest to the engagement as it thickened towards nine oclock—There we remained until about

the middle of the day when an aid came at full gallop towards us with orders for $\frac{1}{2}$ of the regiment to go to the right & $\frac{1}{2}$ to the left—Our Col (J.E.B. Stuart) went to the left with $\frac{1}{2}$ of the men & I with him. This proved to be the main point of attack—Not long after taking our position in rear of the hottest part of the fighting we were ordered to the front to charge the N.Y. Fire Zouavs who were almost taking one of our batteries—We dashed through a skirt of woods and came upon their flank as they were marching in column of fours, and before they could form and present bayonets we were into them like lightning—We were in column by fours in passing through the woods and they run almost 100 yards beyond as soon as the head of our column emerged from the woods the Colonel brought the rear around front into line so we went through like a wedge shooting them down with our pistols—Those in front of us we swept off in a few seconds but those on right & left poured a terrible fire upon our flank. We lost in about one minute 9 men killed 24 wounded & 20 horses killed—The horses were so thick on the ground I could hardly keep my horse from falling over their bodies. It was very dangerous to attempt to leap over them as they were floundering like chickens with their heads cut off, and it was very hard to avoid them, As we wheeled to return a battery opened on us with grape and killed some of the horses some distance in the woods. Neither I nor my horse was hurt. I was detached by the Col. in the afternoon, when we were in the pursuit, with 10 men & captured 80 men and a four horse wagon & team loaded with ammunition, every man of them, with the exception of perhaps a dozen I found around a house full of wounded, had his musket in his hand, and many of them side arms—I got ten pistols and any quantity of Bowe knives from them. Two of the pistols, large sized navy, I have now & will keep and have my name engraved on when I get home, with the date—& leave them to Wyndham in my will. There is a P.O. here now please write to me. P.S. Excuse my making you pay postage but change cant be had here.” (Bk. 33)

(Lt. William W. Black, who became well known later in his own right, served as Aide-de-camp to J.E.B. Stuart when he was Colonel of the First Virginia Cavalry.)

Chapter III

After the battle, in the period from August to early November, 1861, when these letters were written, the Federals were licking their wounds back by the riverside, and the Confederates were pushing

their outposts as far north as Munson's Hill, between Seven Corners and Bailey's Crossroads, where their flag, called "that dirty rebel rag" by one observer, was visible from the White House.

Union Mills Camp. 8/3/61.

"My dear Brother— Your last two letters have been duly received by their respective bearers, also the papers for which please accept my thanks.

There is no doubt on my mind whatsoever but that the Artillery service is the one wherein any one may win most distinction. If i had it to do over again, I should follow that branch of the service most certainly. It is extremely difficult for an infantry officer, much less a private, to distinguish himself; however much he may exert himself, he rarely makes any mark, unless his company happens to be detached, the reason is obvious. In the Artillery service each captain acts upon his own responsibility entirely—he is virtually a colonel there being no intermediate officer between him and his general. He has this vastly the advantage of the same grade in one branch, where no capt. can act independently of his colonel and has merely to carry out his orders, and as there are ten of us here, even if there were any detached service to be performed, I have but a small chance of being called upon to do it. I feel this very much. I wish to be doing something more for my country than I appear to be doing tho' I am doing my duty fully, and am doing as much if not more than any officer in the Regt., but you know what I mean, and what any Virginian must feel when he sees an enemy upon Virginia's soil, and cannot look around him without seeing some devastations of the enemy. But on the other hand—the work is harder I suppose in the Artillery service, unless the company has drivers for dif. grade in life, which is unlikely, I never heard of any but the Washington Artillery with such an arrangement the members of the Co. have to drive and attend to the horses, besides the usual routine of duty common to all branches of the service. You may not perhaps know it but the labor of collecting forage for horses is extremely onerous and is one of the most disagreeable part of the business. Still if I were you I would join Mr. Pendleton, tho' I must tell you that the work is very laborious. In battle it requires a man of great physical endurance to stand his guns, as the labor is immense. Permit me to give you a few hints as to your kit—let there be as little in it as possible, no greater mistake is ever made than this, frequently for as marches have to be made during wh. every thing has to be discarded—during one retreat every rag we had was cast aside because the men attempted to carry too much at first. See that your shoes are substantial, not very thick soled, that they come up over the ankle, and fit very loosely. Have some thick

dark cold. cold cotton shirts with yokes so that a white collar can be pinned on, besides this have one merino shirt to go over the other on certain occasions to act as a vest in colder weather, these with drawers & socks & a small brush (no comb) will be all you need. Have your hair cut as short as the scissors will cut it. This is good advice, and I can prove it. Carry no extra outside clothes, have the uniform, a linen jacket would be useful if the weather continues very warm. My men speak very kindly of you. Best love to all at Dr. D's, Cousin Jon's. Tell Mary I will soon write. I am on a court-martial now, and must quit. Your affectionate Brother, E.B." (Bk. 19, #60)

(Only identification for this writer is that he was a Virginia infantryman.)

Pvt. Daniel J. Heileman, Fairfax, One mile from Centreville. 8/9/61.

"Dear Father...we are camped on the ground, where the Enemy was camped the night before the battle the fencing is all torn away & we are burning them. You may be glad if they never reach their (there) if they act like they do here. I came nine miles from the Junction (Manassas) and nearly all the fencing is burnt & the horses is a grasing on the corn fields...I went to the branch yesterday where the Yanckes had emptied (emptied) a barrel of cartridges & I found about 3 bushell but our boys had gathered them up." (Bk. 17 #40)

(Daniel J. Heileman was another member of the Stonewall Brigade, which camped one mile from Centreville for about two months.)

Pvt. F.L. Stuard, Co. B, 13th Regt. No. Car. Vols. — Watomick River—Camp Farfacks. 8/24/61.

"Dear Father We expect a battle here in the morning they are here on the River and if every of our men go down to the River and shut them they run like hounds. they run and hollar as same as they were dead...I enjoy myself fine here. we kill 1 and 2 beef here a day. I am fair here as well as home...Captain Johnsen lost 1 man yesterday...died with the mesel." (Bk. 41)

(Private Stuard's North Carolina Volunteers were Colonel Hoke's regiment in Jubal Early's Brigade and appear to have been camped near Wolf Shoals Ford.)

Maj. Eugene Blackford, 5th Ala. Vol. Inf., Camp "Masked Battery" near Fairfax Station, Va. 8/28/61.

My dear Mother, We did not move up here until Friday last, having been detained some two weeks awaiting the completion of the railroad bridge which we burnt in the memorable 17th July. Here we are now however again in the "Advance" and are in the midst of all the hardships incident to that post, we have an alarm every other day, and so I am afraid to take my things out of my trunk so as to make myself comfortable in my tent. You must understand that it is the peculiar duty of the Advance to run to any part of our lines, extending now some 20 miles, which may be threatened by the enemy. Friday night last we went out and formed the line of battle against an imaginary foe as it afterwards appeared which proved very poor consolation to us poor tired fellows who had been marching almost all day & had had nothing to eat. In the end however the excitement is pleasant...I buy vegetables every day from the carts which come in, and so manage to make out. We have all been living upon the corn of a confiscated estate near by, which once belonged to a Yankee, now in Lincoln's Army — there is not now a ear of corn in his fields I trust, at least my boy said so Friday when he reported no corn for dinner. There is always a guard put over the property of loyal citizens who lost nothing, but rather gain by the exorbitant prices they charge for every thing. We expect to move forward to Falls Church this evening, which is very near Alexandria. Our lines are gradually being contained around that City as a centre." (Bk. 33)

(Eugene Blackford was with the 5th Alabama, a part of Ewell's Brigade.)

Lt. Col. E.T.H. Warren, 10th Va. Vol. Inf., Camp Fairfax Station. 9/1/61.

"To My Own Darling Jennie, We are all back safe and sound had 2 or 3 turns at the enemy killed 5 that we know of & wounded we think several others. The camp on Masons Hill was beautiful in the Autumn—in sight of the enemies camp & the Capital at Washington..." (Bk. 50)

Pvt. Daniel J. Hileman, Co. H. 27th Regt. Va. Vols. One mile from Centerville Camp Harman. 9/10/61.

"Dear Brother, there is a good deal of sickness here...I have not spoken to a lady since I left Fairfield...if a person hears any thing we cannot tell whether it is so or not there is a heap of fellows here that will stat lies at any time and will swear it is so. I have too Batalion drills one at from eight untill half past nine in the morning. the other from four until half past five at night dress perrade at six & too

Company drills one from eleven untill twelve & the other from too untill three & roll at half past four in the morning & at half past eight at night.” (Bk. 17)

Pvt. D.J. Hileman, One mile Fairfax CH. 9/17/61.

“Dear Father, I hear the cannons a roaring yesterday down towards the Arlington Hights. there was about 100 rounds. General Jontson has mooved his quarters from the Junction (Manassas) down to Fairfax.” (Bk. 17)

Pvt. J.J. Hileman, Co. H, 27 Regt. Va. Vols., Army of the Potomac near Fairfax Station. 9/18/61.

“Dear Brother, We have moved our camp again we are about 1 mile from Fairfax Court House and about 3 miles from Fairfax Station—I have not been doing any duty for several weeks I have a good apetite to Eat but I feel too wecak to do any duty I think it was caused from being exposed cience I hav had the measels...If you or father have any Idea of coming to see us I think you had better write to me when you want to come down and I will see Jackson (Gen. T.J. Jackson) and try to get a pass for you...for it will be harder to get in now than it was before...which of our Horses were press (impressed) by the Government to hall (haul)provisions...I reckon surely they will leave you all Enough of Horses for you all to do your seeding with. I think the people of Virginia will soon get tiered of the Suthern Confederacy for I think it take all they have got to carry on the war and no better off.” (Bk. 17)

A Confederate Surgeon's Certificate, Camp at Centerville. 10/25/61.

“James G. Bostick of Capt. John W. Fowler's Company (Comy. E) of the 7th Regiment Georgia Volunteers...was attacked with mumps about the 1st of July soon after with measles since which time he has been entirely unfit for duty at times his mind appears to be effected.”
“Job M. Hawkins 2nd Lt., Comdy Co. E., 7th Regt. Ga. Vol. “...I would recommend his discharge Jas. F. Alexander Surgeon, 7th Reg. Ga. Vol.” (Bk. 50)

(Dr. Alexander's Georgia Volunteers were a part of Gustavus W. Smith's Division.)

Lt. A.S. Pendleton, Ordnance Officer on Staff of Gen. T.J. Jackson, Camp at Centerville. 10/23/61.

"My Dear Rose, I have no doubt you all, sitting cosily around the parlour this frosty October night, are enjoying the warmth of the fire and pitying poor devils like me, who have to freeze exposed to this whistling fall wind—Now let me assure your commiseration has entirely missed a ration, for I am as snug as possible in my parlour—Let me explain this to you, and you may judge for your self whether it is paradoxical for a man to enjoy life in the "tented field" in a cold autumnal night. My parlour is 8 feet square—large enough for a single man—with walls nice and white, which sway back & forth, flap in the wind, & make me fear, as the ropes stretch & crack that I shall find myself before morning with the blue sky & a thin blanket for my only "kivering"—The room is nicely carpeted tho, with a green velvet sod, whose only fault is that it will show dirt. I have two beds—one for a chance visitor, serving for nice lounges by day—two chairs—one of them very easy indeed—a trunk—and a table at which I am now writing, by the light of as nice an adamantine as you ever saw. I have my library too—for on my trunk by my side lie a bible, a prayerbook, a Shakespeare, two novels, and the C.S. Army regulations—but there are other implements a heavy sabre lies by the bible, and a pair of top boots & plated spurs hang over my head from the ridge-pole—But you say all this array of beds, chairs, and books does not supply warmth of a cold night—True but they are items in a comfortable life—And I have my fire—what in a tent? Yes—and you aren't afraid of its catching fire and burning you up? Not in the least—well oh tell me how! I have my fireplace, with a nice fire of small hickory sticks burning brightly and throwing out heat, and in addition I have a charming footstove, which would be the envy of old ladies could they see it. A fireplace indeed! Yes & to prove it I'll tell you how it is fixed—I dig a trench about 18 inches wide & 6 deep from the middle of my tent to the outside, cover it with flat stones, & these with sod, at the outer extremity I set up my chimney, then build a fire in the tent and it burns as brightly as in any marbled faced hearth in the land. There is only one drawback, and that is where it won't draw at all. But this is easily remedied. Then for my foot stove—I have a hole afoot square & nearly as deep, & this I fill with glowing coals from the fire, and I am provided with extra heat enough to render my apartment comfortable in more than moderately chilly weather—Thus I am fixed now, and besides supplied with some of the luxuries of life—By my side are some as fine apples as ever tempted an Eve. I wish you had some—not of these however—The Bell Flower which I am just at this moment enjoying is really delicious, and after I am done it I can enjoy a fragrant pipe, and "dream of sweet memories past" with naught to

disturb me. My enjoyment is heightened too by just stepping out of my Door, for I have an eye for the beautiful—and far as the eye can reach the valley and hill side is full of camp fires which gleam brightly, and make a beautiful contrast with the dark earth & the sky studded with stars—They are laid out regularly too, and from this hill top it looks like a view of some great city by night. And there are no warlike sounds to bring to mind the way—I hear the clank of the blacksmith's hammer just across the road, as he shoes horses for tomorrow's work and in another tent just by George—the dining room servant is giving out for his private edification the lines of hymns & singing it to an old Methodist tune.

The flapping of the tent walls speak of wind, and remind that I am here, and why I am here—A good providence can take care of us any where—and really he seems to be taking care of our cause—The affair at Leesburg was a glorious success—700 prisoners—1200 small arms & 6 cannon—taken by 3 regiments without a single piece of artillery—and a rumour has just reached us that Gen. Magruder has beaten them at Yorktown, sinking 2 ships, and utterly routing the force they had landed. I hope it may prove true—

Possibly we may have stirring times here—We are bound to thrash them into powder and scatter their army to the wind of heaven—We shall hardly go into winter quarters before December—for the enemy seem to intend to force matters, & we must withstand them at every point.

Ned Lee's regiment went on picket this morning—They go nearly to Fairfax C.H.—The enemy has not advanced much since we retired. He—Ned—is pretty well, & in very good spirits. Picketing for a week is rather rude such weather as this. However it is soon over anyhow, and must be borne with a good grace.

I saw Pa today. He begins to look ferocious with his moustache, which he turned out to give him a soldierly air. I believe I will grow a beard myself for the credit of the family. Pa has quite a force—40 guns & more to come—He is an important person.

You all get along well I hope—Nancy is I trust improving, and the rest enjoying your usual good health. Ma has I trust been able to succeed in her efforts about the corn & fodder. Has the lot in wheat ere now—It will be well if so—Give my love to Sister Sue & thank her for the yarn socks which I put on first today, & for which I have more than once thanked her in spirit, The settled rain of yesterday & the day before drove me from cotton to yarn, & now that it has cleared off cold, I shall not take them off hurriedly—

Remember me to all, from Ma to the Servants, particularly Uncle Jack—Tell him I should like to have him attend my horse—Poor brute I must get him a blanket or he will freeze this winter. I see nobody but officers for I am the only member of the Genl's Staff now

—Adj. Gen., Aide de Camp, & Boss generally — and I have to be here all the time. I hope will get some one soon — not tht I object to the work , but I dislike the confinement.

Tis 10 o'clock—I must to bed—Love to all—Hoping that our heavenly Father will shield us till we meet I am Yr. loving brother A.S. Pendleton” (Bk. 50)

(Lt. A. Sandie Pendleton was the only staff Stonewall Jackson had at this time. He was the son of the Rev. William Nelson Pendleton, principal of Episcopal High School near Alexandria, who laid aside his vestments and eventually became Brigadier General in charge of Artillery for Lee’s Army of Northern Virginia. Pendleton the younger is the subject of *Stonewall’s Man: Sandie Pendleton* by William G. Bean, published the University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, in 1959.)

Maj. Eugene Blackford, 5th Ala. Vol. In., Camp near Union Mills Fairfax Co., VA. 10/23/61.

“My dear Uncle, I have been more than usually busy lately, owing to the duties imposed upon us by our late falling back from Fairfax C.H. and Fairfax Station to the points which have been occupied since the battle of the 21st July. The movement was made in the dead of night and very silently, tho’—no enemy was within 10 miles of us. At day break the whole Army of the Potomac had taken up its present position, the right resting on Bull Run at Union Mills, the left on Centreville. The position is an extremely strong one, much more so than that held by us to the 21st July.... We have been throwing up breastworks for some days past, and have a now continuous line for 5 miles, from Bull Run to Centreville.... On Sunday last I was sent with a detail of 260 men, and a train of cars to tear up the track between Sangster’s Station (now Clifton) and Union Mills...the rail was carried to Manassas and some say will be applied to the building of a railroad to Centreville— By this destruction of the railroad I have despaired of any further advance of the Army this fall; if there is a fight, it will be because the enemy advance on us. Our men have had many skirmishes with the enemy within the last two months, in every one of which we have proved victorious, the result has been that a very poor opinion of the Yankee’s prowess has been impressed upon me and upon the men generally, tho’ I try to overcome it in their case, deeming such an impression extremely dangerous....” (Bk. 33)

Pvt. Algernon S. Wade, Co. H, 27th Regt. Va. Vols., Camp Centreville. 11/3/61.

“Dear Sister, — The 1st of November was a terrible day & night, the wind & rain blew a great many tents down and a great many were

compelled to stay up all night and nurse the fire to keep dry and hold on to their tents to keep them from going over, hope we will be in plank or brick buildings before the worst comes. You spoke of us putting up forts at Centreville, they are throwed up for our defence, not for barracks, do not see any preperation for our shelter except the houses we have now....It is reported that we are going west with Genl. Jackson who you know has been promoted and is assigned to the division of the army in the valley, we are all anxious to go with him.” (Bk. 33, #42)

(Pvt. Wade was another soldier of the Stonewall Brigade.)

Pvt. Daniel J. Hileman, Camp at Centerville. 11/6/61.

“Dear Brother Phillip...General Jackson (T.J. Jackson) he was assigned to the Army of the Valley, he left to go over to Winchester on last tuesday he bid us farewel, he didn’t want to leave us, he shed tears, He told General Johnson that he thought he hadent treat him wright for taking his brigaid away from him and he though he wasent a doing wright by leaving us. He said he was a go to write to the Adj. General to get him to assign this Brigaid to his command in the Valley where he is in charge of now....This is election day here ther isent much stir here. Ther is some tite fellows, there has bin a couple of fist fights here to day. I think it was Captain Whiskey. Whiskey is selling at \$10.00 a gallon, and some pay \$5.00 a quart—they will have it if it is to be had.”

Chapter IV

These letters from Northern soldiers were written as Federal forces began inching southward again.

Pvt. Robert Leshner, Co. D, Col Baker’s First CA Regt., Camp Oregon, Virginia. 9/9/61.

“We have left Washington and gon to fairfax. We are rite amongst the Rebels. We were throwing up a battery yesterday. There is nothing but hills and woods here. The Soldiers is a cutting down all the woods sows we can have a fare sweep at them. Our troops has got them surrounded and they are driving them on to us....We sleep in the woods at nights in a hous made of Brush. We left Washington at night and the darnde and Roughfest Road I never seen before.” (Bk. 5)

(Col. Edward D. Baker’s First California Regiment, was in fact the 71st Pennsylvania, raised in Philadelphia with money sent from California. Baker was a senator from Oregon killed later at the Battle

of Ball's Bluff near Leesburg. At this time the regiment was newly arrived on the Virginia side, camped just across the Chain Bridge.)

Corpl. Albert H. Trescott, 6th R.I. Battery, Camp Webb. 11/16/61.

"Dear Friend, On Tuesday Oct 29 our battery left Camp Sprague, Washington, leaving me in care of the barracks, two sick men and several horses until Thursday when I started on one of our caissons that had been repairing at the Arsenal. Passing Long Bridge which is well guarded by soldiers who at each end demand a pass and any one caught without one suffers in the trenches in Va. I had a chance to examine a fortification thrown up by the Rebels to cover cannon which were placed on the Va end to command the Bridge. We passed several earthworks on our route, some near the road others more distant, but all looking savagely on the land of secesh. The rebels made a R.R. (cheap) to run from Alexandria for the conveyance of troops to the Potomac and I passed along side of this nearly the whole route. Alexandria is a city of once pretty appearance but now the streets which are paved are in a very poor condition as some places have settled so much that a tub could be placed in it. The buildings are all old and very few trees are to be seen. The place of Col. Ellsworth's murder was passed and the engines destroyed by the scoundrels, packed just as they left them. One engine & 3 cars carry out provisions and the picket guards to a station about 8 miles from our camp. We at first camped on a muddy flat and stayed there until a heavy rain drowned us (nearly) when we changed our site to a hill side where we are now pleasantly situated under the guns of Forts Ellsworth, Taylor & Lyons. These command the Potomac and all the land passes to Washington and contain from 30 to 50 guns mostly 32 pounders. We are three miles south of Alexandria in Genl. Richardson's brigade. Genl. Heintzleman's division of the "Left wing of the Army of the Potomac" which division contains about 40,000 soldiers. Last Saturday I visited the house where the Rebel Genl. Johnson lived. The farm consists of 500 acres and is under a poor state of cultivation! there is scarcely any perceptible difference between the roads and gardens and the corn, which we went after was stacked in the open fields where the rain had nearly rotted the whole lot—30 acres—of corn. Last Tuesday our Brigade went to Pohick Church on a reconnoitering expedition and there left our pickets. This is 6 miles beyond our lines at that time and it is hoped we shall be able to make a stand there for the present. There we surprised about 500 secesh calvary and shot two of them. This church is the place where Genl. Washington worshipped and has until late been used for religious purposes. I enclose you a piece that came from the alter. It is now nearly cut up inside. We returned late at night all cold & tired and much dissatisfied that we had not had a battle....I like camp life very much altho. Victuals and clothing in abundance and just work

enough to keep us from rusting....I remain yours A.H. Trescott
Camp Webb 11th month 16th/61." (Bk. 55)

(The 6th Rhode Island Battery was attached to Richardson's Brigade,
Heintzelman's Division.)

*James H. McIlwain, Co. G., 11th Penna, Reserve Corps, to his wife Emma of
Apollo, Pa., Camp Pierpont, Fairfax County, Va. 11/22/61.*

"I was just packing up for a march to Munson's Hill....While
there we was reviewed by McClellan, McDowell & Ugly Abe who is
by no means one half so homely as he is represented in the pictures.
there were about seventy thousand soldiers in the field and about ten
thousand Spectators comprising Ladys & Gentlemen from
Washington, the Soldiers four men deep reached from falls Church to
Alexandria a distance of four miles. Such a crowd of people I never
before witnessed. I suppose it will be the last review that we will have
untill we are advanced or put into winter quarters...." (Bk. 7)

(McIlwain's 11th Regiment, Pennsylvania Reserve Corps, was one of
12 or 13 such designated units in George McCall's Division. At the
Battle of Antietam they were commanded by General Meade. There
were several reviews at Munson's Hill, but the one described in this
epistle was the largest of them all and the one which inspired Julia
Ward Howe to go back to her hotel and write "Battle Hymn of the
Republic.")

*Nelson Randall, 35th N.Y. Vols., Head Quarters, 35th Regt. N.Y.V., Falls
Church. 11/17/61.*

"Well I cant think of much to write tonight any way, Oh yes night
before last the rebels took 5 wagons 20 horses and 16 were prisoners.
they was out forging and got to far. one of the men got away and came
back yesterday. they belonged to the 30 N.Y. Regt. our men went out
took 2 yoke of oxen and some wagons and potatoes and a lot of hens
and so on, we go on a general review to morrow there is to be a least
50,000 men in the field. it will make a nice show." (Bk. 5)

(The 35th New York Volunteers were part of Wadsworth's Brigade,
McDowell's Division. The fight Nelson Randall describes here was
officially known as "The Affair at Doolan's Farm.")

Chapter V

The following two letters tell a separate story. They deal with the "Raid on Gunnell's Farm" ordered by George McCall after report that treason was ripe in the area. As a result of the raid, near Dranesville on the Leesburg Turnpike, ten or twelve of the most prominent citizens in the area were arrested and charged with the murder of Union soldiers. The incident later became famous in local history as "The Hog Murders."

James H. McIlwain, Camp Pierpoint. 12/5/61.

"...we had been out a foraging expedition getting corn and hay for the horses and did not return till late last night. we was about 9 or 10 miles from Camp and had about 8,000 soldiers with us and near two hundred waggon. we got 100 waggon loads of corn bysides a lot of cordwood and hay. we thought it was a pretty good days Stealing but we did not steal it we just took it and we did not care whether the owners looked on or not but we must have feed for our horses and wood for the fire. in this country there is no coal the folks burn all wood. and the country around our camps is pretty well burned up of the wood and we have to go Sometimes 3 and 4 miles for wood." (Bk. 7)

S.P.E. of an unknown Union Regt., Camp Pierpoint Va. 12/6/61.

"We were out on a foraging expedition to day and have just returned we were out two miles in the direction of Leesburg and succeeded in obtaining 138 wagon loads of wheat corn & c. Brought in some seven or eight prisoners. We took them as spies. Out where we were they have five or six females under arrest or rather in a house with a guard around it to prevent their escaping. Among the number was a young lady of I suppose about 17 and she is pretty in the extreme. As our wagons passed the house loaded with wheat and corn she stood in the door of her prison house as it were and I noticed that she wept. Poor girl! thought I your lot is indeed wretched to see the produce of your own home carried away and that too while you are a prisoner. I felt for her. my heart was sad at her situation. Yes I could have wept for her but it was no use. The thought occurred to me that it was cruel to treat her so. and I think So now. my heart is heavy with the bitter thoughts of her. My sympathy is enlisted in her favor and my prayer is that heaven may sustain her. When we were coming home we stopped in front of a house. I had a curiosity to see the condition of a secesh house. I went into that one. The family consisted of an aged mother and her only child. a young lady of I suppose 18 summers. She was not very pretty but there was something in her manner which made her lovely. I for a moment thought I

was at home among my friends. They kindly requested me to take a seat. The first chair I have sat on for two months. The daughter told me that her father had been pressed into the southern army. that they had not heard from him for a long time and that they supposed him dead. I asked her which she thought to be right the North or South. She said that under existing circumstances she did not like to answer the question. but upon me assuring her that her answer was safe in my keeping she answered, that her father was a Union man and that she was satisfied that the north was right and the south wrong. but living as they did she had to be Secession or they would be punished. She gave me the parting scene of her father. and as she did so, both her and her superannuated mother wept. She was now left fatherless and besides an aged mother to support. Oh! God what a scene. I thought my heart would break. The battery started and with tears in my eyes I quitted the house. Oh! what desolation destruction and sorrow war causes." (Bk. 42)

Chapter VI

Here we have a look at the Battle of Dranesville from participants on both sides.

1st Lt. W.T. Conn, Co. 7, 9th Geo. Vol. Inf., Camp near Centreville, Va. 12/20/61.

"Dear Bro., I had writeen this far, when an order came to fall in, which we did, stacked arms. while I write the arms of the Regt. are stacked. You would naturally want to know what all this excitement means. This morning Gen. Stuart sent out four hundred (I heard) waggons under a proper escort for forage. were 'driven in'. A vague report that the Yankees are advancing....Immediately after supper a report that the enemy are advancing. have killed Capt. Cutts of Cutt's Artillery Americus Ga. Taken six pieces of his battery. The first reports you know are always exaggerated.

Gen. Stuart is only a Brigadier, but has command of all the "outposts," and looks after forage. We wanted to get a large quantity of hay that was out on our front, between Falls Church and Leesburg.

Circulars were sent through the camps soliciting aid for the Charleston sufferers. I gave nothing, leaving you to give for me if you think best; our legislature have done well in that respect I think. Our Co. gave thirty four dollars; one Co. in our Regt. gave (I heard) two hundred dollars.

Sunday Dec. 22nd—I had written the above and commenced to fold it when the drum was beatten for us to assemble. I'm glad I did not finish my letter that night; Capt. Cutts is not hurt, nor any of his

artillery taken, three men killed, some wounded, a number of his horses killed....We started about six p.m. in a northerly course passing our old "Picket" post, Frying Pan (Gen. Stuarts hd. qrs.) and at eleven halted for the night in a Pine thicket, no blankets, but little to eat, made fires and lay down. At daylight resumed our march passing Herndon Station on the Alexandria & Hampshie R.R. (the superstructure of which has been torn up and hauled away); about twelve m. arrived at Drainsville, the scene of the fight the day before

The distance of this place from Centreville is variously estimated at from twelve to eighteen miles. I think about fourteen. Got back to our tents between one and two this morning, at least about one hundred of our Regt. the others having fallen out on the way. thus we marched about 28 ms. in a little over thirty hours. The first night the road was smooth and fine not having frozen at that time and having been pressed by many a weary soliers feet.

I understand Gen. Stuart claims this engagement to be a victory. We had 4 Regts. & 6 pieces artillery (about 2 thousand. they had three thousand and twelve pieces artillery. We had five killed and a number wounded. we had to retreat and leave our dead and wounded on the field. they staid until night and then fell back, being in advance of their Picket lines. Gen. S. was surprised in that he came upon the enemy before he knew it, all drawn up in battle line ready for him when he sould emerge from the woods, *but he got the hay* at another place....Ours and another Regt together with 150 Cavalry were all the troops there yesterday. portions of both were thrown forward to scour the woods, to prevent the enemy from surprising us, while another party were looking up the dead, some of whom were horribly mangled. From what I could see the combatants were not more than three hundred yards apart. The trees around and near the place that Cutt's battery were stationed, were literally torn to pieces by the shot and shell thrown from the butting of the enemy. A house that the Yankees thought contained soldiers was shot all to pieces. I counted twelve places where cannon balls struck it, some going through. All the while the occupant with his family were in the cellar. The people seemed glad to see us, twice had I my haversack filled, for which they would receive nothing." (Bk. 25)

James H. McIwain, Camp Pierpont. 12/22/61.

"I expect you have heard before this time that we was engaged in the late Battle at Drainsville. well I will give you the full and correct statement of the whole affair. The first and third Brigade in McCalls Division went on last Friday to get Forage near drainsville they Succeeded in getting over a hundred waggons loaded with grain of all kinds. and were just on the event of starting home when the Rebels came in Sight of them. And our men were Surprised to See them So

close to them. they had no idea that they were the enemy untill they fired and before our men could get ready for them by getting their cannon planted the Rebels had them completely Surrounded — there was about five thousand of them and our force numbered about three thousand but they went in like a set tigers and fought manfully for about one hour and half when the Rebels took to their heels on double quick. the Rebels leaving Some of their Ammunition and cannon waggons behind besides a good (many) blankets and coats. we was dispatched for as Soon as the Battle commenced but did not get there untill a half hour after the Battle was over but we was on the field to carry off the dead — our loss was only 13 men killed and 19 wounded the Rebel loss was 91 killed and left on the field and I dont know how many was wounded — some was left on the field while others were carried off we only got 7 prisoners. we just got through burying our men yesterday evening. and the dead Rebels are laying on the field yet. we are waiting on a flag of truce. So that the enemy can come and bury their dead. if they dont come by to morrow we will have bury them — the whole loss of the enemy is about 230 altogether in killed wounded and missing and our loss in killed and wounded is thirty two. it was a horrible sight one could step from one dead man to another on the field. but one soon gets used to it. I eat biscuit out of Rebels Heaversack after he was shot. and took his Blanket and I would not take ten dollars for it as I know it cost double that amount. All the boys in our Company got a overcoat or Blanket the Rebels were compelled to leave them behind as they could not run fast enough with them on. Your husband till death, Jas. H. McIlwain” (Bk. 7)

Chapter VII

How the troops themselves felt about their winter quarters and what problems they found with what solutions are dealt with by this group of correspondents.

Wm. S. Milmine, 32nd N. Y. Vols. Head Quarters, 32nd Regt. Camp Newton. 12/6/61.

“Dear Bro Al, On friday night we were ordered to prepare for four days picket duty. On saturday morning we started and went about four miles from McClouds mills on the Fairfax road. I was wet the morning we started but the weather favored us being very pleasant all the time we were out. We stacked our musket and built a sort of a shelter from the wind and made ourselves as comfortable as possible. We were on the outposts and although there were a good many empty

houses near we dared not occupy them for fear of being surprised. When I said we were on the outpost I meant that we were farthest out of our regt. and next to the line of riflemen who are along the line in groups of fours. On sunday morning our grub not having reached us five of us ran these outside pickets on a foraging expedition. It seems like sunday all the time in these middle grounds. Well we got out and went about a mile to a farmhouse. Here an old man and his family lived. We went up to the door and asked the old gent if he had anything to eat. I suppose he thought It was no use to decline so we went in and got some fine *mince pie*. He said that he was a native of York state We talked some time with him. He talked verry smooth said he voted for Bell. But guess he is a little secesh at heart at least we thought so about the time to pay for the pie. When we started to go back the pickets came after us thinking I suppose at first sight that we were rebels but they found out different and with a warning not to go over again without their knowledge they sent us off. On monday we had a sight of the rebels about one o'clock their cavalry came down upon our pickets killing one of the rifle men carrying off twelve of them and two of our men. They came so suddenly that we had no warning untill we heard them fire. Capt Huffs and Lieut Stone were eating dinner at a house just on the lines and they had to run like the old scratch to save themselves. The foremost of the cavalrymen were not more than twenty rods behind. They were ahead of our two men who were captured. But we did not know what was up untill we ran out to the edge of the woods about half of us unarmed when they turned and disappeared like lightning. If it had not been for this I guess they would have been in *dixie* now. We followed them for a short distance but they were not to be seen. They caught one I believe though taking the boots off the dead man. We did not see more of them although the cavalry scouts saw them skulking around. They know their big those horsemen and have rather an advantage of us to as they know every inch of the ground. We have splendid weather freezing at night and thawing during the day." (Bk. 5)

(Milmine's 32nd N.Y. Vols. were in Newton's Brigade, Franklin's Division.)

Captain Sylvester H. Brown, Co. E, 32nd N.Y. Vols., Picket Guards Annandale. 1/1/62.

"Dear Wife, A happy New Year to you. I am now at Annandale on Picket with my Company. We are the advanced eight miles from Camp and seven miles from Fairfax Court House. We are often in sight of the Rebels but as yet no firing has ocured. We are well armed and have no fears as we are supported by a column of 800 men in our rear extending back a distance of eight miles. It is well known at Head

Quarters that I never allow my men to straggle away from Camp or quarters but always have them within call and ready for any emergency. For me Picket is not very arduous—there is only the responsibility. I have two Lieutenants beside the full staff of noncommissioned officers. I keep a Lieu. allways on hand on duty relieving each other every six hours at the same time I have a serj and Corporal on duty to be relieved by others every six hours.”... (Bk. 58)

Samuel Millar, 30th N. Y. Vols., Camp Keys, Upton's Hill. 1/1/62.

“Dear brother & sister, It is New Year and we have no drill today so I will rite you a few lines. We are having a livly time in camp we had a foot race and are to have a gumping race and they are to have a pig greased all over. Then let him loos. The one that catches it takes the purse the officers has. Several other games for the boys. Some officers has got hot rum for their companies but our old coal merchant would not spend a sent for his company to save their lives.” (Bk. 2)

(The 30th N.Y. came under Keye's Brigade, McDowell's Division.)

James H. McIlwain, Camp Pierpont. 1/15/62.

“We have elegant Sleighing here now which is the first that we have had this winter and we can catch any amount of Rabbits and foxes; I am going to have Rabbit for Dinner we caught 3 yesterday while on picket and we could have had as many more if we wanted them ever I am still bothered with a little lazyness and I do not care about running after them.” (Bk. 7)

Ben Wade, Co. C, 19th Regt. Va. Vols., Camp near Centreville, Va. 1/23/62.

“Dear Sister, Our life is quite monotonous but comfortable. Our home is built of logs covered with slabboards and chinked & daubed. 5 of us in it. Size inside 15 X 13 ft. a board floor and a stone fireplace. some boards on stakes constitutes our bedstead with leaves in licks from whick every 15 days we have to go on Picket at Germantown near Fairfax C.H....We can hear the cannon from Evansport (now Quantico Marine Base) almost every day. There is much talk of reinlistment—many companys are now making up for the war...I was telling you of our houses—we have 2 tables, 2 chairs, 2 Benches, a set of shelves for dishes. a skillet or oven, a Frying pan &c. We can by the help of yeast or yeast cake make and bake a good bread as you ever saw. I make *Gravy* of steak grease and live very well. But there is a monotony which tires to death.” (Bk. 33A)

(Wade's 19th Virginia was part of the brigade of Phillip St. George Cocke.)

Chapter VIII

By March 7th General Johnston was increasingly aware of shipping activity on the river, a prelude to the Peninsula campaign, and made the decision to pull his main forces back toward Richmond. With this ebbing of the Confederate tide, the Union forward observers ventured southward to view the abandoned positions. For a short while there was quiet if not peace in northern Virginia.

"Robert"—Assistant Surgeon of 5th Regt. Mich. Inf., Camp Michigan, Fairfax Co. Virginia. 3/1/62.

"To My Dear Parents, Measles have continued to increase and have assumed an allarming degree of virulance — 16 men have died in the last 30 days three have died today. many are in the Hospital. the cases all assume a malignant type, as soon as the eruption begins to fade....Now for the news — this "army of the Potomac" is just on the edge of an advance. it will surely be made within the next ten days. — I think it will come off on the first of next week. — We are ordered to keep two days constantly on hand, shall move without tents, — We are to take one Hospital tent & a load of surgical supplies.. Our picket lines have been moved up two or three miles, and Prof. Lowe has been up in his balloon to view the position & works of the enemy. we expect the first fight at the Ocququan, you need not look for any more "Bull Run Affairs" for we shall go to Richmond before we stop. Mch 3rd... Prof. Love & Gen. Heintzelman went up in a balloon at Pohick Church, — quite a number of large seige Guns went down the river yesterday to Gen Hookers Division. — the thing gets closer at hand, all soldiers are prohibited from writing home to any one that is, the mail is detained, — all reports are thus cut off, I am obliged to sent this to Washington by Dr. Gunn & have it mailed from there. — Gen. Bank has crossed the River above, — ...To my Father, if I never return, remember that I fall in a glorious cause, and am ready if necessary, take care of the family." (Bk. 58)

Robert, Camp Michigan. 3/10/62.

"My Dear Sister, the hour we have so long panted for is nearly at hand, the "army of the Potomac" is at last slowly beginning to move; the right wing away up the river has begun to move. they crossed the river and took possession of Winchester, the Rebels running on the approach of our troops. Yesterday our Gun boats made a demonstration against their river batteries and this morn, our glorious old flag proudly floats above the rebel works — To day three divisions (about 40 Thousand men) moved off in the direction of Centerville, about day break, — it is believed that Manassas has just been evacuated, if it is true (and it probably is) they will occupy it tomorrow, all is bustle,

and active preparations are seen in every hand for the anticipated march. officers and men are packing their baggage, and we are hourly expecting the order to march, our sick have all been sent to General Hospital, and I of course do not have much to do, but pack up—it is like mooveing a common Drug store to pack our hospital tents. the men have been supplied with shelter tents; officers will have to take their chances, I shall take a couple of blankets on my horse, and at night occupy one side of the ambulance.—I think we should have moved long ere this but the balloonist reported 60,000 of the rebels at Occoquan ready to dispute the passage. this was evidently their object to send troops forward, and hold us in check until they retreated with their baggage trains; it is reported that they have gone to a point sixty miles south of Manassas, they probably will endeavor to concentrate their forces and fortify, then risk a general engagement; before many days we shall be in Richmond. then on thru the heart of the South.” (Bk. 58)

(“Robert” was a physician with a regiment attached to Richardson’s Brigade, McDowell’s Division.)

Corp. Wm. Lindsay, Co. K, 43rd Regt N. Y. Inf., Flint Hill. 3/12/62.

“Dear Friend, Monday the 10th Our Grand Army of the Potomac made an advance. Our Brigade is now situated on Flint Hill a beautiful place only ½ mile from Fairfax Court House. The rebel Cavalry were here the day before we came in large squads...secesh beware, the 43rd is nigh! Gen. Porter’s Division lies at our left and Gen. McCalls at our right...the railroad between Alexandria & Leesburg is now being fast repaired. The cars run from Alexandria up to Vienna which is 4 miles from our camp.... Yesterday the major of the 5th Wisconsin Volunteers went a short distance below the Court House and bought back a rebel flag containing 7 stars two red bars and a white one. It was a pretty nice flag but it looked as if it had seen some tough times. Fairfax is quite a pleasant village, some like Cooperstown (New York). General McClellan on last Monday night was at Fairfax Court House. He stoped at the residence of a notorious rebel named DeLon...the boys were all in fine high spirits singing Dixie on the way. At Vienna we halted & loaded our guns where we saw the new Locomotives puffing up & down where the rebels had once burned them...” (Bk. 27)

(This letter from “Flint Hill” (now Oakton) was from a soldier in Hancock’s Brigade, Gen. W.F. “Baldy” Smith’s Division.)

Wm. P. Lewis (?) Co. G. 49th Regt Pa. Vols., Head Quarters, 49th Regt., Penn. Vols. Camp at Flint Hill. 3/15/62.

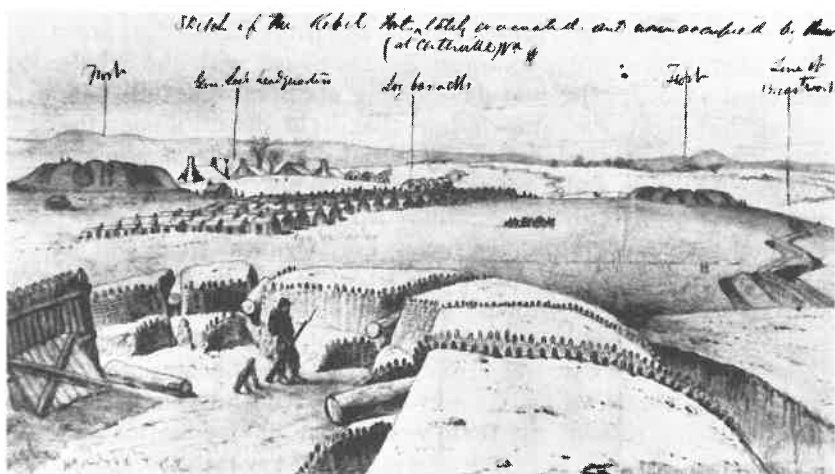
"John Sterns, Esq., our Chaplain Wm. Earnshaw paid a visit to Centreville and Manassas all is desolation and destruction What will become of them I cannot say...the farther we advance into Virginia the more dessolate it appears. fences are all gone woods felled and dessolation all arround—the village of Fairfax is only Enhabited by four families." (Bk. 58)

(Lewis' unit is another of Hancock and Smith's troops.)

By an unknown Union Soldier, Fairfax Ct. House. 2/23/62.

"Dear Friends at Home, We started from Camp California the 10th of this month expecting to have a brush with the rebels. We marched 14 miles the first day ariving at "Brimstone Hill" about 7 oclock that night. We camped there that night and until noon the next day. We then started and went about 5 miles to a place called Sangsters Station and camped there until noon the next day. We then started for Bull Run we got there about 8 oclock that night and camped. We expected to see heavy Fortifications there but we examined and there was nothing but a sort of a Rifle Pit to be seen it was an embankment thrown up on three sides so we went back and went to bed the next morning we were routed out and started from there about 6 oclock we wet 4 miles and stoped unharnessed and while the drivers were feeding We wet to the Reble huts and ransacked them. It was a regular city there were about 300 log houses that they had lived in and had now deserted leaving every thing behind one of the boys brought a firkin of butter which had never been opened. we found pails and brought them full of sugar peanuts &c there was good flour and articles for cooking all left as if they had no time to pick them up their beds, bed quilts, sabres, bayonets, knives and every thing else they left. And we were thinking all the while that they were suffering for the want of food and all the while they had more to eat than we did. We went back and stayed that night and the next day. Capt had us go out with the horses a foraging. Mannassas was about 4 miled from there so some of the boys and myself thought we would go and see the wonderful Fortifications there We at last got there. There was one large Fort where there had been about 100 guns and all around there was about 50 sham Fortes where there were logs and stove pipe put up to scare somebody and on the forts they had placed a mans suit stuffed with straw and a stick with a bayonet on it....After we had loaded ourselves with corn for our horses we thought we would start back to camp. On the way I got sight of a pig so I just put spurs to my horse after him I got within shooting distance and I let drive the ball took him exactly in the head and he dropped." (Bk. 58)

(This unknown Union soldier is almost certain to have been in the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, or 4th N.J. regiment, Kearney's Brigade, Franklin's Division. General Philip Kearney, who lost an arm fighting with the American Army in the Mexican war, later became a soldier of fortune and fought in Italy. He was killed near present day Pender, later in 1862, in the Battle of Ox Hill or Chantilly. The soldier misdated his letter, however, since Fairfax Court House and Centreville were still full of Confederates in late February. By March 23rd, when Union troops reconnoitered southward, they were gone.)



Drawings used in "Letters Postmarked Fairfax County" were by Charles Reed, who served for the duration of the war in a Massachusetts regiment, and was later awarded the Medal of Honor for saving his commanding officer's life during the Battle of Gettysburg. Library of Congress Manuscripts Division.

A Virginia Artillery Camp at Centreville, Virginia

by
Howard R. Crouch

From the late 1700's when it first became known as Centreville, until the opening days of the Civil War, the quiet little town on the high hills in western Fairfax County led an uneventful existence.

Only a few small streets made up the town. Surrounding it were farms, large and small. Here and there the broad fields and pastures were broken by tracts of woodland. With the coming of the war in the spring of 1861, however, the quiet character of the village began to change rapidly.

Sitting, as it did, astride the Warrenton Turnpike and Braddock Road, Centreville became a strategic point. Nearby was the important railhead from points south, Manassas Junction. Quickly, a large Confederate army began forming here under General Beauregard, both to block Union access to Richmond and to threaten Washington itself.

In July of 1861, the Union Army moved out of Washington along the two afore-mentioned roads. They met the southern forces in battle along Bull Run and were driven back into the defenses of Washington. As the Union Army licked its wounds and strengthened its defenses, the victorious Confederate Army formed its own defense line for the coming fall and winter.

Principal fortifications were built around the heights of Centreville, and a large "town" of log huts grew behind this line to house the soldiers.

Typically, these huts were some eight feet square, built of mud-chinked logs, and roofed with planks. Heat was furnished by attached fireplaces and chimneys constructed of local stone. The log town was centered in the area of the present day road junction of U.S. Routes

28 and 29-211. The actual outermost areas picketed by Confederate troops were far to the east toward Washington. Cavalry units were stationed along the Occoquan-Burke-Fairfax Station-Oakton (Flint Hill) axis. Such units were of course quite mobile and could quickly fall back to the west in case of any large side troop movements on the part of the Union Army.

To the rear of this line but still out in front of the large fortifications at Centreville were stationed other Confederate units, many of them behind the Little Rocky Run. A clear and pristine stream some 10 to 15 feet wide, Little Rocky Run originated just to the northeast of Centreville and curled through the wooded valleys and farmland to the south, finally emptying into the larger Bull Run some five miles below.

Just to the east of Little Rocky Run, and of course facing Washington, a large system of earthworks was constructed. These were on a smaller scale than those at Centreville. They consisted of long earthen banks some five feet high, meant to shield riflemen and mobile field artillery pieces. Many of these earthworks can still be seen today along the west side of the present day Union Mill Road, which parallels Little Rocky Run.

During the winter of 1861-62 the newly formed Confederate Army lived an uneventful few months in Fairfax and Prince William Counties. Rather than the Yankees, the Confederate troops fought the cold, disease, boredom and occasionally hunger. While the log-and-board huts afforded some protection from the elements, living areas became large fields of mud. Trees for miles around were chopped down for firewood. Lice and other vermin were rife in all the camps.

Fancy militia uniforms, belts, cartridge boxes and other trappings quickly wore out and were discarded over the nearest hill or simply cast aside in the huts. Similarly, civilian horse equipment, broken small arms, and all manner of equipment was discarded, much of it replaced by newer and sturdier war material left on the field at Bull Run by the Union troops.

By February of 1862 the Confederate high command had decided that the Centreville line was untenable and that it would pull its forces back toward Richmond. By this time the troops must have been glad to go.

In the first week of March, 1862, the various Confederate units formed up in the camps for the retrograde movement south. Many comrades, victims of disease and wounds, were left behind in graves scattered throughout the area. Many of the hut camps were burned, others left to slowly rot and their stone chimneys tumble to the ground as the years went by. Slowly the woods crept back and took hold

again, trying to erase the signs of destruction. By the time a full century had passed, nearly all signs of the camps were gone. A thick cover of leaves hid the hut excavations and the moss-covered rockpiles of chimneys were almost the only indication that these now deep woods had once been inhabited by man.

In the early 1960's, interest in these old camps began to grow; spurred by two important factors. First, the Civil War Centennial, which brought a new interest in studying both the events of the Civil War and the life of the soldier himself, as well as his equipment. Second, new electronic technology, which introduced the first really reliable metal detectors.

So of course now the stage was set; if the battlefields produced relics as seen in museums, then what of the camps? Nearly all were on legally huntable private property and really of almost no historical interest to anyone.

Throughout the 1960's an ever growing number of artifacts did yield themselves up to hunters in the Centreville area. Old camp locations were researched in the Official Records of the War of the Rebellion, a compilation of all known Confederate States and Union correspondence, old letters, diaries, and even in questioning some of the older residents of the area.

Not surprisingly, many artifacts were found—state seal waistbelt plates, similarly marked buttons, early coins, and many common items necessary to the soldier in the field—eating utensils, pocket knives, canteens, and other items.

By the mid-1970's it was supposed that all of the large winter camps had been located and well hunted. Most of the camps became quite well known, in fact, with many hunters working them through the years. From a historical standpoint, there was a small problem with this: it became fairly hard to document just what specific artifacts in total had come from a given camp.

In the fall of 1975 a cousin of the writer's acquired a farm within the general area described, with a portion of the property bordering a wooded section of the Little Rocky. It was well away from the area where the larger Civil War bivouacs had been. In general the ground was quite high also, with the mid Victorian era farmhouse surmounting the whole property. This dwelling was surrounded by fields with heavy woods bordering one side and the rear.

Although an ardent relic hunter, most of the author's work had been carried on in the Fredericksburg-Stafford area. During this period many field notes were being compiled with a view to publishing a book on the subject.

When the invitation to hunt the aforementioned farm came, we were quick to accept. In November of 1975 the author and a friend

from Manassas met at the farm. Our friend was a companion from many previous hunts, Harry Visger. This gentleman had been hunting for years and was—and is—a real expert on both finding and assessing the history of old camp and skirmish sites.

On arriving at the farm, we crossed a small field behind the house and entered the woods on a small logging road.

Our first finds were made almost immediately: numerous “6-ring” minie balls, a type peculiar to Confederate troops early in the war. As we crisscrossed the woods heading down a long slope, our finds continued. In the old roadbed I recovered a set of artilleryman’s pincers, a multi-purpose tool for opening ammunition crates and servicing the shells and gun. Harry found some scattered parts to a model 1842 smooth bore musket. We will note here that it is most unusual to simply walk into the woods and recover such artifacts in the well hunted Northern Virginia area. We were positively mystified ourselves, noting that all of the finds were right out in the open and indeed fairly shallow, a further indication that this particular piece of woods was untouched.

Gradually the slope leveled out into a large flat some 20 feet above a tributary of Little Rocky Run, which was barely visible through the trees. Looking up, we noted what appeared to be the remains of an old stone wall angling off across the flat. Here and there a few rocks protruded through the leaves. Now the signals in our earphones increased, and metal seemed to be everywhere.

Large flattened cans, nails, a few broken iron tools and many horseshoes were scattered at random. I voiced to Harry my opinion that this was surely just an old farm dump and probably related to the one we had started from. Certainly it had no military character, as we had been hunting for a half-hour here and had yet to recover the first button or bullet.

Harry was quick to disagree. “Why,” he said, “would someone bother to haul trash this far? And besides, these cut nails are definitely Civil War vintage. I believe that it is a camp, although maybe a quartermaster type unit. Look at your stone wall closely. We have counted twelve separate mounds—they were chimneys to board or log huts, each housing six to eight men.”

I questioned the lack of military items, making the point that around Fredericksburg these would have been immediate finds, and that never had I encountered so much junk metal. As a matter of fact, I was ready to head back up the hill and further scour the probable picket post that we had passed through on the hilltop.

As I turned to Harry to announce my intention, I noticed him kneeling over a freshly dug hole next to one of the “chimneys.” He turned and held out a perfect Virginia state seal “saber plate,” a heavy

cast buckle used only by mounted men to support the weight of a saber. Though the plate was covered with a green patina and dust, I could easily see by its condition that it must have been lost very early in the war.

Well, this did certainly settle matters. As we hunted, the military character of the place slowly took shape. Nearby I dug two Virginia coat buttons, a pocket knife, a few pistol bullets.

More of the flattened cans showed up. They seemed to have been a large ration can and may have been flattened for use as a cooking sheet. Close to one of the huts I dug a large button bearing a raised bar design. Harry got a few eagle buttons and some early coin type civilian flat buttons.

Returning the next day, I found a percussion shotgun lock, a Colt pistol wrench, a bayonet scabbard tip. Harry recovered a large brass spur, a pair of iron stirrups, and more bullets. We also located a large file, an axe head, a broken crosscut saw, and one eagle cartridge belt breast plate. (In spite of the lack of such tools in the Confederacy, they are a common find in unbroken condition in nearly every large camp site.)

After some time in the camp we circled its outskirts. Down the hill I dug a fine Virginia button backmarked "Canfield & Bro., Baltimore." Harry's finds on an upper ridge included an eagle breast plate, numerous .36 caliber Savage pistol bullets, and a nice U.S. Ordnance cuff button.

We eventually found evidence of Civil War activity nearly everywhere on the farm. On returning to our parking place of the previous day, just inside the woods, I dug an early type U.S. waistbelt plate with its thin pigskin leather backing still in place, and three more Virginia buttons. The field itself turned up a few minie balls, a couple of bayonet scabbard tips, and a fine set of gunner's pincers. Harry vowed to me that he would find a one-piece Virginia button here, an item that he had not previously dug. Leaving no stone unturned, he got into a small, rather thick area and did some close scrounging. He dug a fine woman's brooch, a civilian type spur marked "Oates," and a "U.S." cartridge box plate that had been hacked across its face with a sharp object.

Our narrative of the actual hunt ends at this point, although our activities did not.

Within a few weekends of hunting, the finds became sparse, and both of us moved on to other hunting grounds. Since we both lived close to the farm, occasionally we would rehunt it over the next few months. The resultant finds were of the common variety, but they served to flesh out a picture of the place that we would not have gotten otherwise.

Within the definition of relic hunting in Northern Virginia today, we both feel that the find was significant for several reasons.

Finding a wholly intact winter camp is unusual anywhere, but particularly so this close to "civilization" in an area of high hunting pressure by neophyte and experienced hunter alike.

It was unquestionably an artillery camp, with huts providing living quarters for a battery of Virginia troops composed entirely of, or at least officered by, individuals of a pre-war militia unit.

We feel that the battery's gun emplacements were on the hilltop above the camp, where the 1880's farmhouse now stands. From there, they would have been able to sweep an important road junction and to cover the flank of the more permanent emplacements nearby.

All of the artifacts recovered are typical of the pre-war civilian and 1850's military types.

In a later conversation with a previous owner of the house, another bit of information came to light to support the artillery camp theory. In 1946 or 1947 the driveway to the house was being widened by a road grader, and at a point very close to the house the machine operator exposed some six unfired Parrot shells. One more specimen was recovered in a garden behind the house. Furthermore, the previous owner mentioned that in the 1930's, the older residents of the neighborhood had referred to the area up the road as "Battery Park."

One of the chief pleasures of exploring this camp and others in the area was the fact that they lay within a large and unbroken oak woods, still some four square miles in extent. And, as it had in that fall of 1861, Little Rocky Run still looked as wild and unspoiled as it had for centuries.

Most regrettably for future researchers and hunters, the specific site of our Virginia artillery camp and its neighboring camps and earthworks will soon be lost among the new townhouses now on the drawing board for the area. In view of this, we feel fortunate to have been able to furnish this very limited survey for posterity.

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For additional background facts Mr. Crouch recommends *Bull Run Remembers*, written by Joseph Mills Hanson, former National Park Service Historian and a former Superintendent of the Manassas National Battlefield Park. The publication is available from the National Park Service, and was published in Washington, D.C. in 1953.



Crossing the Little Rocky Run in the camp's vicinity.



*Iron horse curb bit, spur, and
gunner's pincers.*



*Artifacts from camp: Virginia buttons and
others; front and rear of early U.S. waistbelt
plate with its leather backing still intact after
nearly 125 years.*

The Importance of Being Ardently Committed or...How I spent Four Weeks in the County Records Room

by
Caroley Planicka

The single most valuable experience in my recent education was entering the Fairfax County Historical Research Contest. Never have so many lessons, both positive and negative, been burned into an adolescent brain in so brief a time.

At the beginning, it seemed like a dandy idea. I was flattered that my teachers urged me to enter; a contest seemed exciting. The local area was ripe with historical happenings and besides, if I entered the contest, my paper would fulfill the course research requirement.

I was certain that a suitable topic would occur to me, but weeks sped by, and on the heels of my indecision came my first lesson: "He who delays is lost." I found myself without a research partner, a topic, or the statement of research purpose which was soon due for class review. This was a bit of rare disorganization on my part which I hope never to repeat, for it cost me dearly in the next few weeks. I was forced to work day and night to catch up.

Contact with the County Historical Society revealed that research was badly needed on the newly dedicated Lewinsville Park property, formerly known as Hamill Tract. My second lesson might well have been called "Never Volunteer," as I eagerly accepted the challenge of that particular project even though I was informed that several people had tried unsuccessfully.

Maps and kindly librarians in the Virginia Room of the Fairfax Library and the Circuit Court Archives led me to believe that I could begin with the original Royal Proprietary Land Grants and then work forward through titles and deeds to trace ownership of the sixty-acre parcel. Thus, I began using a 1977 County map on which Beth Mitchell had superimposed the boundaries of the original patents and land grants. This map showed the present Lewinsville Park Tract

to be part of the original Turberville Grant. For three days I compiled data on the Turberville Grant and was beginning to feel like quite a historian, when, I met a man who had researched the same grant and assured me that my property was not a part of it! I was devastated, knowing that this set-back would put me weeks behind and the frustration was nearly insurmountable. However, lessons three, four and five awaited to keep me going. Three: "Believe in yourself."... I knew I hadn't read the map wrong; my parcel had to be in the Turberville Grant. Four: A fact can slip by even an expert researcher. Five: Keep looking until you find the answers...persevere.

Two days of hard work produced the missing link. A rare stroke of luck led me to a file of misplaced and damaged deeds and among them was the deed of sale in which Turberville disposed of a wedge of land whose description matched my parcel! I was thrilled and resumed research efforts with a new thirst. Although there were five more "dead-ends" in my search, I was not discouraged. I found I could use the wills and letters of the various owners to reconstruct documents which had been destroyed in the Civil War, and the story of Lewinsville Park began to take form like a giant jigsaw puzzle.

At this point, the lessons were coming so fast that I shall not attempt to enumerate them. My quest led me to understand over 200 years of County record keeping methods and how to use them to search titles, trace wills and locate surviving heirs. I met fascinating people and heard stories of the area, told in true oral tradition, about agricultural prosperity and failure, the coming of the Old Dominion Railroad, the Post Office, Civil War medical camps and skirmishes, and the booming of suburban life in the fifties, sixties and seventies. I discovered amiable attorneys, greedy builders, interesting variations in county regulations, and a new affection for my home town of McLean.

The experience challenged my abilities, taught me new research skills, gave me a genuine love for history and created new friendships. I was awarded Honorable Mention in the contest, which gave me a great sense of pride, but a greater prize was in having contributed something significant to my community.

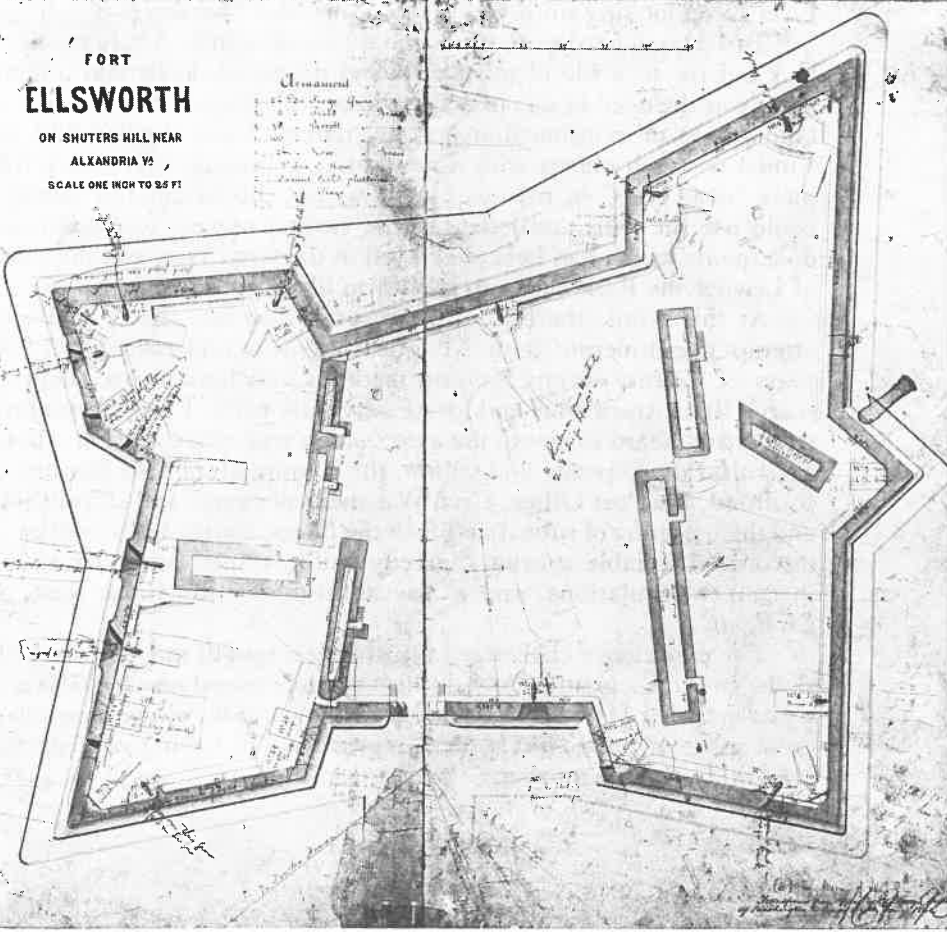
Drawing 169-
Sheet 95

FORT
ELLSWORTH
ON SHUTERS HILL NEAR
ALEXANDRIA VA,
SCALE ONE INCH TO 25 FT

Dimensions

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The Saga of Shuter's Hill

by
T. Michael Miller

The author has prepared appendices to this article containing additional information about the families who lived at Shuter's Hill and Fort Ellsworth. We did not have space to print them, but they may be seen with the article at Lloyd House, Alexandria, or the Virginia Room of the Fairfax County Regional Library Headquarters Branch.

Part I

Shuter's Hill, a picturesque eminence surmounted by the George Washington Masonic Temple, is situated just outside the old seaport town of Alexandria Virginia. Located two miles from the Potomac River and 187½ feet above King Street, it stands like the great Sphinx at Giza, a silent witness to the march of history.¹

Although there is disagreement among historians as to the origin of the name "Shuter's Hill", it was initially part of a larger patent of 6,000 acres of land granted to mariner Robert Howson on October 21, 1669, by Virginia Governor Berkeley.² Having kept the tract for less than a month, Howson conveyed it to John Alexander, a Stafford County planter, on November 13, 1669, for 6,000 pounds of crop tobacco.³ John's great, great grandson, Charles Alexander of Preston, later sold the Shuter Hill tract to John Mills, a merchant, on January 23, 1779.⁴

Mills first domiciliated on a ½ acre lot in close proximity to the town of Colchester where he had had "a commodious house containing a large front store, counting and lodging house."⁵ By the time of his death in 1784, however, he had built himself a lovely edifice on Shuter's Hill. His obituary stated that on:

24 December last (1783) departed this life at Shuter's Hill, Mr. John Mills, late of this town, merchant, in the 49th year of his age, of an Epileptic Fit, being the 3rd attack he had suffered within the last 6 months. His probity and ability as a merchant, the elegance of his taste and manner and his obliging deportment deservedly procured him a large share of Regard from all his Acquaintances and friends. — This Town and its Vicinity sustain a Loss by his Death, of a useful Member of Society — His Remains was interred on the 26th, with decent Respect, at the Place of his late Residence under the Direction of a few Friends, as he has left no Relations in this country.⁶

Robert T. Hooe, Charles Simms, and William Brown were appointed administrators of his estate and placed his property for sale in 1784. Included were all his personal effects consisting of:

Negroes, Stock, very valuable and elegant household furniture, books, wearing apparel & sundry farming utensils. ... The stock consisted of horses, cattle & sheep ...⁷

Along with the advertisement of these goods, the administrators also offered the rental of the:

Mansion house of the late John Mills with about 20 acres improved land adjoining so well known for its beautiful situation and the absolute perfection of plan in which elegance and conveniency are so happily united ...⁸

Apparently, the estate still had not been sold by March 1786, because another real estate entry in the *Advertiser* stated that the:

SEAT of the late John Mills, known by the name of Shuter's Hill within a mile of Alexandria and commanding an extensive and beautiful prospect of the town, & river and adjacent country. (was for sale and that this consistd of) 19 and 20 acres of land, consisting partly of meadow and partly of upland, has on it a large and convenient dwelling house, with kitchen, stable, and other outhouses & garden ...⁹

Circa 1790, Ludwell Lee, son of the famous Richard Henry Lee of Stratford, purchased the mansion house and some 19 acres of the late John Mills. Later, he expanded his real estate holdings on

Shuter's Hill by acquiring an additional 20 acres from John West in December 1795 and 10 acres from Col. Light Horse Harry Lee in 1796.¹⁰ During the Revolutionary War, Ludwell had been a member of General LaFayette's staff, took part in the battle of Greenspring, and was present at Cornwallis's surrender. He also represented Prince William County in the Virginia Assembly, first as a member of the House (1787-1790) and later in the Senate (1792-1800) where he was speaker from November 1796 to December, 1799.¹¹ An ardent federalist all his life, he retired from public life when his party lost power.

Thomas Lee Shippen, Ludwell's nephew, paid a visit to him in September 1790. He wrote his father in Philadelphia that:

At ¼ past 7 at night I left my companions who accompanied me in the boat to this side of the Potomac—they returned to George town—I came to Alexandria. Yesterday I passed at Ludwell's seat a mile from Alexandria. ... The place is called Shuter's Hill and is infinitely handsomer than the one in England of that name. The house is handsomer and spacious. ...¹²

Lee's estate also appeared on the 1798 Gilpin Map of Alexandria and is graphically represented in a 1797 fire assurance plat. The policy vividly illustrates that there was a two story dwelling with a piazza across the west front, a 1 story north wing utilized as a kitchen and also a 1 story south wing.¹³ Other outbuildings consisted of a 1 story laundry and a 1 story frame gardener's house.¹⁴

The social environment at Shuter's Hill was the epitome of gracious southern hospitality with rounds of parties, barbecues and foxhunting. Members of the Lee clan sojourned to the hill to reminisce about the exploits of the family during the Revolution and to chat about the formation of the New Republic. Richard Henry Lee, signer of the Declaration of Independence, would come to confab with his son about the political machinations in Philadelphia. Probably, no better description of the social scene on Shuter's Hill has been penned, however, than that of Ludwell's daughter, Matilda Lee Love, who was born there September 13, 1790:

I would like to describe my home (on Shuter's Hill, Alexandria) as I knew it. The house was large and roomy. You entered a large passage; to the right was a spacious dining room, elegantly furnished. A large press with glass door held the silver, glass and china. We were waited on by three stately servants in livery which was blue turned up with white, with buckskin short breeches with shoes and stockings.

Across the passage on the left was an elegantly furnished drawing room with mirrors down to the floor, before which I danced many a day. Beyond that was the chamber and nursery. My father drove a chariot and four white horses, which were paraded out when I wanted to go to Alexandria to buy morocco shoes, of which I was very fond.¹⁵

Tragedy struck the Lee household in 1795 when Ludwell's wife Flora died and was buried on the hill.¹⁶ Ludwell remarried a Miss Armistead in 1797. Matilda, his daughter, commented that soon afterwards: "When his first daughter was born (Ann — April 8, 1798), there was a great christening at Shuter's Hill. She and my brother Richard Henry were baptised at the same time ... at nearly 72 I am (the only one) left to recall it."¹⁷ Ludwell Lee remained at Shuter's Hill only a few more years before he sold the mansion house and grounds to Benjamin Dulany for £5,000 on July 15, 1799.¹⁸

Dulany Epoch — 1799 to 1861

Born in 1752, Benjamin Dulany was a third generation American of Irish descent. He was a strong supporter of the Revolutionary cause and resided at "Prospect Hill" Frederick County Maryland before he removed to Virginia. A good friend of George Washington, Dulany married a Miss French of "Claremont" Fairfax County Virginia, the General's ward. From this marriage, Dulany secured a large dowry of £20,000. George Washington wrote to a friend soon afterwards that "...Miss French, whom half the world was in pursuit of gave her hand ... to Mr. Ben. Dulany of Maryland."¹⁹ From this union, the couple sired 12 children many of whom figured prominently in the annals of Virginia and Maryland.²⁰

Benjamin Dulany, a very high spirited gentleman, loved horse racing and entertained in the grand manner. He caused turmoil amongst Alexandria pedestrians as he "thundered up and down the streets, riding a spirited horse, sparing no wayfarer, causing men to rush for safety to the nearest doorway."²¹ On the other hand, Fairfax county archival records reveal that Dulany was a very civic minded individual who served his community well as a surveyor of roads in 1785 and a justice of the peace several times between 1787 and 1798.²²

Besides residing at Shuter's Hill, Dulany also maintained a spacious Georgian mansion at 601 Duke street in Alexandria. Tradition has it that when General LaFayette visited the town in 1824, he addressed the populace from the steps of the old home.²³

Benjamin's marriage to Elizabeth French was not the least blissful and they decided to separate in 1805. By January 1808, after 25 years of married life, the split became final. Elizabeth received the Duke

street property with several servants and a stipend of \$1,650 for yearly support. Benjamin retained possession of the bank stock and deposits and received an annuity of \$500 for life.²⁴

Shuter's Hill was the scene of a gala wedding in April 1812, when Benjamin's daughter, Louisa, married Richard deButts of Maryland.²⁵ Ben's health began to deteriorate soon afterwards and a *Gazette* article of January 14, 1815, reported:

On Thursday last an ulcerous wen weighing 9 pounds was dissected from 1 axilla of Mr. Dulany by Dr. George A. Thornton of this place. Mr. D [sic] is doing quite well.²⁶

Dulany did not live long, however, and he died in Baltimore, Maryland in 1816. His body was returned to Alexandria and interred at Shuter's Hill.

His widow, Elizabeth, inherited the Shuter Hill estate and permitted her daughter, Louisa, who had married William Herbert, the famous progenitor of the banking firm of Burke & Herbert, to live there. Upon Elizabeth's death in 1824, she willed the Shuter Hill property to her sons:

It is my will should the Lord be pleased to take me to himself before I can conveniently have a Will written in the usual way — To say this night that I am in a perfect state of mind — that I leave the whole of everything I possess to my sons James, Bladen & William Dulany requesting them to sell enough to enable them to give Rebecca W. & Maria H. each \$2,000., Daniel \$1,000. and Mary Forest \$700.

Eliza Dulany
April 8, 1821

Probated 22 March 1822²⁷

As is so often the case, there was a dispute between the Dulany heirs over their mother's inheritance. As a result, Bladen Dulany brought suit against Benjamin Dulany, Jr., Dulany Forrest, French Forrest and others. This suit was finally adjudicated when Superior Court of Chancery held at Fredericksburg, Virginia decreed on the 23rd day of April 1827 that:

This cause came on this day to be heard, by consent of the parties by counsel, upon the papers formerly read and the reports of Commissioner Barton, and Commissioners Peyton, McKenna and Mason, made pursuant to the order of the 12th day of May, 1825, to which reports there is no exception ... On

consideration whereof the Court, approving of and confirming the said reports, doth by like consent, adjudge, order and decree, that unless the defendants ... within sixty days from the date hereof, pay and satisfy to the plaintiff the sum of two thousand three hundred and twenty one dollars and eighteen cents, with interest thereon at the rate of six per centum per annum from the 8th day of January, 1820, until paid, and costs by the plaintiff expended in the prosecution of this suit, the Marshall of this Court after having advertised the time and place of the sale ... for five weeks successively, do expose to sale before the front door of Clagett's Hotel ... the lands, and premises in the proceedings mentioned and out of the proceeds of the said sale, after defraying the expenses ... do pay and satisfy to the plaintiff his aforesaid debt, interest and cost. ...²⁸

The defendants were unable to satisfy their debt and the Marshall advertised the sale of a:

Tract of Land,
of which Mrs. Eliza Dulany died possessed, containing about 44 acres, together with the improvements thereon, situate, lying and being the county of Fairfax, immediately on the line of the District of Columbia, and near the said town of Alexandria.²⁹

Another creditor of Eliza Dulany, Charles Bennett, also filed suit against her estate and forced her administrator, Isaac Robbins, to sell additional portions of the Shuter Hill tract. At a sale held on July 15, 1829, Henry R. Dulany, son of Benj. Dulany, Jr. and grandson of the elder Benjamin Dulany, purchased 24 acres of the property at \$105 per acre or \$2,520.³⁰ By 1829, he had possession of most of the Shuter's Hill tract.

In 1833, Col. Henry R. Dulany became embroiled in an episode which involved an attack on President Andrew Jackson. While Jackson was visiting the port of Alexandria on May 6, 1833, a disgruntled naval officer named Robert Beverly Randolph went on board the steamboat "Sidney" and violently seized the President by the nose and wrung it. Apparently, Randolph blamed Jackson for wrecking his naval career. After the attack, Randolph was struck by Samuel Potter of Philadelphia, a clerk in the Treasury Department, but managed to escape to shore whereupon he obtained a horse at Gadsby's Tavern and rode out to Shuter's Hill. There his good friend, Col. Henry R. Dulany, lent him a horse and gig and Randolph drove out to Oak Mount, Fairfax County, the home of Daniel F. Dulany, where he was

expected to be a groomsman in the wedding of Daniel Dulany's daughter to Maj. Spencer M. Ball. Although a warrant was issued for Randolph's arrest for the attack on the President and a posse headed by U.S. Marshall Ashton was sent to Oak Mount to apprehend him, he was never punished for his crime because he remained outside the jurisdiction of the District of Columbia and in those days an attack on the President was not a federal offense.³¹

Col. Henry Dulany continued to reside on his Shuter's Hill estate where he raised a fine stock of blooded Durham cows.³² A rambling peregrinator engaged the Colonel's hospitality in February 1836, and left a stirring mental snapshot of the social milieu there:

Arriving at Shooter's Hill, the seat of Mr. Dulaney, we were encountered with a welcome characteristic of a Virginia gentleman on his own soil, and worthy the descendant of an Irishman.

Here we dined, took our tisan de champagne glace upon the well-shaded gallery fronting the river, and in due time I mounted and rode down to the city to make my toilet and receive the Alexandrians.³³

Upon the death of Col. Henry Dulany in 1839, he stipulated in his will that Rebecca, his daughter:

would receive the Shuter Hill estate (containing 60 acres more or less) not because any bequest of mine would in any way add to her comfort (My late Cousin Lady Hunter of England having provided her with a most ample fortune)³⁴ but as a memento of my affection being the dearest spot to me on earth and should be to her, as the resting place of the remains of her dear departed mother and sister Gertrude; and I further desire that in consideration of this bequest, that her husband, should she marry, take the name of Henry Rozier in addition to that of Dulany as is required by the will of my late Cousin Lady Hunter of England; and that she cause to be erected a monument to the memory of her dear departed Mother, and sister Gertrude (over a vault in which their remains shall be placed) the cost of which shall not be less than \$6,000 and that marble tablets be inserted giving their names, ages and that a copy of the lines written by Mrs. Frances Kemble Butler commencing "What was thine errand here" ... be inserted in the tablet put up to the memory of her dear Mother. And it is also my request that my remains be interred in the same vault if practicable ...³⁵

Not long after Col. Dulany's death, the elegant mansion on Shuter's Hill caught fire and burned circa 1840.³⁶ What a catastrophic fire this must have been as the flames enveloped the handsome piazza on the east front and consumed the remainder of the house. In a letter from John Armisted Carter to Sir Richard Hunter dated September 25, 1841 he wrote:

...My mother informed me she had written you soon after the burning of the Shooter's Hill House. It is much to be regretted there was no insurances. The late Col. Dulany had refused to have it insured in consequence of the high rate of insurance asked, & after his death I did not feel authorized to do what I knew he had declined. I went down immediately after the burning and rented a house in Alexandria which tho' not so pleasant as the Hill, answers very well.³⁷

Rebecca Ann, daughter of Col. Dulany, also addressed correspondence to Sir Richard concerning the tragedy which had befallen the family.

Shuter's Hill
July 24, 1844

...I am spending the summer at Shuter's Hill where the enjoyment of pure air and water and beautiful scenery amply compensate for any inconvenience from living in a very small house which my grandmother has erected since the fire. She is so much attached to the place that she cannot bear the idea of leaving it altogether, in which feeling I cordially sympathize. ...³⁸

It can be gleaned from these two letters that after the grand Ludwell Lee mansion burned circa 1840, Rebecca Dulany's grandmother built a more modest home on Shuter's Hill.³⁹

On October 7, 1847, Rebecca Ann Dulany married her first cousin Richard H. Dulany of Welbourne, Loudoun County, Virginia; and, as her father had requested, the bridegroom changed his name to Henry Rozier Dulany.⁴⁰ He had been born Richard H. Dulany on August 10, 1820, at Welbourne near Middleburg, Virginia and died October 31, 1906. He was the organizer of the Upper-ville Horse Show in 1853 which is the oldest organization of its kind in America.⁴¹ During the Civil War he served with distinction in the 7th Virginia Cavalry (Turner Ashby's) and attained the rank of colonel. He was twice wounded: first at Greenland in April, 1862, and then at Forestville in October, 1864. His parole signed May 11, 1865, states that he was 44 years of age, 5 feet 9 ½ inches tall and had hazel eyes and gray hair.⁴²

After Col. Dulany's marriage to Rebecca in 1847, they removed to his family home at Welbourne. Portions of the Shuter's Hill tract were rented and "all persons [were] expressly forbidden to trespass in any manner on the grounds [of the estate] under the severest penalty of law. Edward Franics, Manager."⁴³

The decade of the 1840's at Shuter's Hill was an era of parties, picnics and political rallies. The Democratic club of Alexandria threw one of the first of these during the 4th of July 1840:

GREAT DEMOCRATIC CELEBRATION, ON THE FOURTH OF JULY AT SHUTER'S HILL.

...The day was ushered in, by a Salute from the Hill, of twenty-six guns. At 1 o'clock the Democracy of Alexandria, with a number from the Country, assembled in Fairfax Street, opposite the public square ... after which, they marched to King Street and awaited the arrival of the citizens from Washington, Georgetown and Maryland, who joined the lines, the whole proceeded up King Street in the plain old Democratic way; animated by the drum and fife and patriotic airs from the Marine Band, under the panoply of none but the American Stripes; occasionally cheered with black flags, from the windows of houses in the occupancy of distinguished politicians. ...thence out Prince Street to the beautiful and dense grove of Shuter's Hill on which was flying in majestic folds (forty feet above the trees) the glorious Thirteen, having displayed itself, in all its grandeur in full view, from the commencement of the imposing procession, which extended nearly half a mile, and from 4 to 6 abreast. On arriving at the ground, they were greeted by Yeomanry of Fairfax, it might almost be said by thousands, after which, the company sat down to a splendid dinner prepared by Messrs. Hubbard and Legg in their best order.

The company broke up about 7 o'clock and a large part, marched into town, in the same order in which they went out, escorting the guests and the citizens of Washington and Georgetown on board the boat for Washington; and on their departure gave them three times three heavy cheers.

Taking the whole affair into consideration, it was one of the most numerous, orderly and imposing

public meetings ever convened in this or the adjoining country; ...

In front of the stand erected for the speakers, was the acclivity of the grove, on which the audience arranged themselves, as it were, in concentric circles; the front not in the least obstructing the view of those behind them, and within the audience of the orator, and what added effect and animation to the scene, the outer circles were adorned by a vast number of the fairest of the fair, like a rich and gorgeous fringing, adding elegance to worth and substance. From this position, you have a commanding view of the Potomac, the city of Alexandria and the beautiful and highly cultivated valley which immediately surrounds it.

There were about 1500 set down to dinner, and without exaggeration, the whole could not have been short of four or five thousand.

The tout-ensemble in the Grove was calculated to recall to our recollection, some of those occasions when the people assembled in their amphitheatres or Groves, to listen to the patriotic orators of the Roman Republic in her most virtuous and palmy days.⁴⁴

Alexandrians also assembled on Shuter's Hill on two other festive 4th of July holidays in 1844 and 1850. The celebration in 1844 was sponsored again by the Democratic party and a large crowd so-journed to a lovely grove on the mound where they were serenaded by political speeches from prominent politicians and a 13 gun salute.⁴⁵ In 1850, a Sunday School group from the Southern Methodist Episcopal Church hosted an assemblage:

This Sabbath School celebrated the day at Shuter's Hill, in Fairfax County. They were formed into procession at Potomac Saloon, at 8 o'clock in the morning and were escorted through the town, by the Mechanical Artillery, a new company under the command of Capt. Geo. Duffy. So large and imposing a display of any single Sabbath School was never before witnessed here — nearly 300 being in procession. ...Immediately on their arriving at the foot of the hill, a salute was fired from a piece of artillery commanded by Mr. Charles Rudd. Large and extensive arrangements were made for the accomodation of the scholars. The exercises at the Grove were commenced by singing and prayer. The Declaration of

Independence was read by Master Charles Rhiley, who prefaced the reading by a few eloquent and appropriate remarks.

...After the singing, a salute of 13 guns was fired. Many beautiful and interesting addresses and dialogues were delivered by the scholars. ... The declining sun, and the sound of distant music, reminded us that the privileges of the day were coming to a close. Soon thereafter Capt. Duffy with his soldiers appeared, to escort us back to town ...⁴⁶

As a result of many typhoid and dysentery epidemics, it was decided in 1850 that Alexandria should establish a public water works. This enterprise was spearheaded by the renowned Quaker scholar and teacher, Benjamin Hallowell. In a letter to his good friend and colleague, Robert Miller, Hallowell described the genesis of the Water Company and how the reservoir site was built near Shuter's Hill.

Sandy Spring, Md. Fourth mo. 14th 1873

Dear Cousin Robert:

...When on a visit to my sister at Morristown, New Jersey while this subject [water] was occupying my thoughts I met there with James L. Halme of Mt. Holly and in conversation, I ascertained that his mill had recently been brought into requisition, as a means of supplying the town of Mount Holly with water, and I accepted the invitation he kindly gave me to visit him, and examine the works. These were very simple and efficient ...

...This idea was at once transferred to the Cameron Mill and on my returning to Alexandria and mentioning the subject to some of my friends there, Edward Hough, and Thomas Wm. Smith, among the number, they encouraged me, and I told them, if they would get up a public meeting of those in favor of having a supply of water for the town, I would make a speech upon the subject in favour of using the Cameron stream. This was done. The large company that collected in the Lyceum Building gave evidence of the interest the citizens felt in having a better supply of good water.

In my remarks, I spoke of the feasibility of having 'the clear and pure water of the Pebbly Brooke [Cameron Stream] conducted through all our houses on its way to the Potomac,' ... The subscription got

on finely and meeting of the stockholders was soon called to elect officers. I wanted Geo. D. Fowle for President ... But he and others named me, and much to my surprise, I was unanimously elected with the exception of my own vote. I accepted the office upon two conditions. First, that I was to have no salary. Second, that I was to have the privilege of selecting a competent Engineer who had constructed similar works ...

...Frederick Erdman, ... was of course elected by the Board our engineer ...

...As already intimated, I had always looked forward to Suter's Hill as the site for the reservoir from which the water was to be distributed through the city. ... [Erdman initially objected to the site Hallowell had proposed and substituted a knoll just south of the main hill.]⁴⁷

Hallowell continued to serve as President of the Water Company for many years and ground was broken for the project in early 1851:

...This took place on the lot recently purchased of Peter Tressler, in the rear of Suter's Hill. The venerable Benjamin Hallowell, spade in hand, and with a degree of vigor and enthusiasm ... took the lead, in which he was followed by our excellent townsmen, Phineas Janney, Hugh Smith and others.

Mr. Hallowell made a very neat and appropriate address and at the conclusion the whole company walked to a house in the neighborhood, where they partook of an agreeable entertainment, in the shape of ice-cream, lemonade, etc.⁴⁸

The work of laying the pipes into town and constructing the reservoir was finished by 1852 and water let into town June 15. Prior to the completion of the project, however, the Water Company went to Court in Fairfax County to ascertain the damage that would be done to the property of Richard H. Dulany and his wife on Shuter's Hill:

TO RICHARD H. DULANY AND REBECCA
A., HIS WIFE—

Take notice, that in accordance with an act of the General Assembly of Virginia, entitled, "An Act to incorporate the Alexandria Water Company," passed March 22d, 1850, the President and Directors

of said Company will, on the 19th day of May, 1851, apply to the county court of Fairfax County, ... to award a writ of ad quod damnum, for the purpose of ascertaining and fixing, the damages which will accrue to you, by the location of certain reservoirs, pipes, conduits or water works on, or the passage of said pipes, ... through certain land whereof you are tenants, situated in the county of Fairfax, and adjoining the lands of Samuel Catts and others said land being a part of the tract known as 'Shuter's Hill.'⁴⁹

It is not known how much compensation the Dulany's received for the Water Company's right of way through their property. The matter was settled amicably and by the end of 1852 with the acquisition of a public water system and the installation of the gas works, the quality of life dramatically improved in old Alexandria.

The idyllic tranquility and bucolic charm which characterized life on Shuter's Hill was abruptly shattered as the sword of Damocles was unsheathed in May 1861. Dark war clouds hung over Alexandria as its citizens went to the polls on May 23, 1861, and voted to secede from the Union. The festering sore of nullification, States Rights, and the division between North and South over the slavery issue came to a head as South Carolina opened fire on Fort Sumter on April 9, 1861. Immediately, President Lincoln ordered the invasion and occupation of Alexandria as several thousand Union troops converged on the town by water and land on the morning of May 24, 1861. Outnumbered three to one, a force of 700 Virginia troops under the command of Col. Henry Terrett gathered at Prince and Washington street and retired to Manassas junction.

In the midst of this melee, Col. Elmer Ellsworth, a former law clerk of Abraham Lincoln and commander of the New York Fire Zouaves, landed at the foot of Cameron street. With a few soldiers and a news reporter, he dashed up King street and invaded the Marshall House Hotel in order to tear down a large Confederate flag which had been placed there by an ardent secessionist, James W. Jackson. The large flag was visible with a telescope from the White House⁵⁰ and tradition has it that Col. Ellsworth wanted to take it back to Mrs. Lincoln as a souvenir.

As Ellsworth descended the 3rd floor of the Marshall House, he was met on the second floor landing by Jackson who had vowed to kill anyone who removed the banner. Instantly, Jackson shot Ellsworth with a shotgun and was himself killed and bayoneted by Corporal Brownell, an accompanying New York Zouave. Thus, some of the

first blood spilled trickled down the steps of the Marshall House Hotel. As the Federal troops occupied Alexandria, the news of Col. Ellsworth's death spread rapidly and many of the troopers threatened to burn and sack the town.

Later that evening when Ellsworth's body was taken to the White House to lie in State, President and Mrs. Lincoln openly mourned the loss of their close friend and one of the first casualties of the Civil War.

As the nation geared for war, the topography and quietude of Shuter's Hill would be dramatically altered. On May 25th, the New York Zouaves immediately began digging trenches and fortifying the hill. This strategic fortification would be called Fort Ellsworth in honor of the fallen northern hero. It was one of the first of 68 forts which by 1863 would make Washington the most secured capital in the world.



Part II

Fort Ellsworth

Alexandria was militarily important because of its close proximity to Arlington heights and the extensive railroad yards which connected the city to the South. After it had been occupied, General Mansfield ordered that Capt. H.G. Wright "select a point for a fortification and to superintend the erection thereof ... At Alexandria, after a preliminary reconnaissance to select the proper site, a large bastioned work called Fort Ellsworth was laid out by Wright and commenced during the ensuing day."⁵² (May 25) It was located about 100 yards west of the Masonic Temple and its southwestern perimeter occupied a portion of the Fort Ellsworth condominium site off Roberts Lane. A formal survey of the fort was conducted on December 8, 1865, and an extensive map was prepared of its design and structure.⁵³ This detailed drawing documents the placement of parapets, powder magazines, armaments and bombproofs.

Fort Ellsworth was considered a "work of large dimension" and after much arduous labor with entrenching tools it began to take shape. It was primarily an isolated field fort and would offer little resistance to an army determined to take Washington. "It might effect an influence over the inimical population of the city of Alexandria; it might help defend the place against small expeditions, but in relation to the operations of armies it could neither offer much aid to the defense nor materially deter the attack."⁵⁴

After the Confederate success at the Battle of Manassas on July 21, 1861, the Union position in Alexandria became extremely precarious as Northern authorities feared a Confederate attack on Washington. Surveying the topography of the area, federal engineers deemed it essential to man the heights one mile in front of Fort Ellsworth near the Episcopal Seminary. Subsequently, the construction of Forts Worth and Ward were commenced in early September, 1861. In the words of General Barnard: "the heights south of Hunting Creek, overlooking Alexandria and more elevated than Fort Ellsworth were for some time a subject of anxiety."⁵⁵

After the completion of Forts Worth, Ward, Williams, and Lyon and the occupation of Coopers' Hill, Fort Ellsworth became a secondary line of defense. Strategically its importance lay in covering Alexandria and the railroad depot and it also closed the gap between Forts Lyon and Worth and thus could help prevent the stationing of enemy guns on the heights south of Hunting Creek.⁵⁶

Further precautions were taken to prevent sudden cavalry raids against Alexandria and a battery was established at the site of an old distillery near Shuter's Hill and two block houses were constructed near the bridge crossing the head of Hunting Creek adjacent to the

Little River Turnpike. These blockhouses were built of rude logs 16 to 18 inches in diameter and were apparently 10 ½ feet high.⁵⁷ Orders were also given that when any part of the defensive line was threatened, all trees, houses, and underbrush were to be removed for 600 yards so enemy sharpshooters could not seek such facilities for cover.⁵⁸ Thus, most of the beautiful foliage and groves of trees which had served as a recreational retreat for Alexandrians were chopped down and removed. In a letter to Frank L. Blair, postmaster General in the Lincoln Administration, General Barnard commented: "... On the other side of the river, the whole country had been laid waste from Arlington to Alexandria by fortifications and the encampment of troops."⁵⁹

In essence Shuter's Hill was denuded of much of its natural vegetation during the Civil War occupation. John Peyton Dulany, grandson of Benjamin Dulany, wrote his married daughter in Baltimore on June 3, 1861, just one week after Federal soldiers entrenched themselves on the summit and said: "The Northern Army have taken possession of Shuter's Hill and have nearly ruined it."⁶⁰ By October 1861, the *Local News*, an underground newspaper, published a description of the West End and Shuter's Hill.

Shuter's Hill has been shorn of many of its attractions—a greater portion of the beautiful trees have been felled, the fences destroyed, roads made in every direction and the hill is fortified at various points. Mr. Ashby's residence on the hill, has fared badly, having been despoiled of every moveable item contained.⁶¹

Initially Fort Ellsworth had been garrisoned by the New York Fire Zouaves. This regiment was badly mauled during the First Battle of Manassas in July, 1861. Other troops which later bivouacked on the hill included the 17th New York regiment, Col. Tyler's Connecticut Regiment, the 3rd Battery N.Y. Artillery, Battery D. Col. Lansing's 17th New York Infantry and the 2nd U.S. Artillery.⁶²

Through a compilation of Civil War letters, diaries, and official correspondence, it is possible to reconstruct an excellent profile of the camp environment at Fort Ellsworth. The first of these reports was penned by George Templeton Strong, a member of the U.S. Sanitary Commission. Strong kept an extensive diary of his wartime experiences and he noted on August 4, 1861:

Visited 'Fort Ellsworth' in front of Alexandria. It is finished now and very formidable, easier to defend than to assault. But it seems to me (in my ignorance) insufficiently armed, and commanded, moreover, by the neighboring hills. The chivalry will never try to

storm it, but I don't see why they should not shell its defenders out.⁶³

The next view is provided by Col. J. Howard Kitching, of the 2nd New York Light Artillery, who was sent to Fort Ellsworth in the fall of 1861. Arriving in Alexandria in November, Kitching wrote the following missive to his papa:

Fort Ellsworth, November 18, 1861

Dear Papa:

I have been trying for some days to write a line to you, but have had no time, having been moved about from place to place — always on the march, and never at rest.

Now we are in Fort Ellsworth, things have a much more comfortable look, and we are hoping that we may be allowed to remain for a month at least, as we have in the fort a battery for six-pounders, enabling us to drill every day.

Fort Ellsworth, you remember, was built by the Ellsworth Fire Zouaves when they first entered Virginia. It is a very fine piece of work on a splendid commanding position, overlooking Washington, Alexandria, and all the surrounding country for fifteen or twenty miles.

When we came in here on Friday evening, it was occupied by four hundred 'man-of-war's-men;' in fact, a complete frigate's crew; — and they have been spending the past two months in putting the fort in complete order, just as sailors do, sodding, and whitewashing everything, and planting evergreens, until the inside of the works is the very picture of neatness; and if we were in barracks instead of these miserable tents, so that we could keep warm, we should be very comfortable and happy.

Our tents are very cold in this winter weather, and as our brilliant quarter-master managed to lose all my blankets, as also Major Doull's, we have suffered a good deal from cold. I took a severe cold, sleeping on the ground one rainy night, but am now getting very much better, and as we shall soon have plenty of blankets, I hope I shall not take cold again. ...⁶⁴

The third pen portrait of Fort Ellsworth has been left to posterity by General Robert McAllister. McAllister, who was second in command of the First New Jersey Volunteer Infantry and colonel of the

11th New Jersey has enriched history by writing some 900 letters during the Civil War to his family. For a period in October 1861, he was stationed at the Episcopal Seminary and in October and November 1862, was headquartered at Fort Ellsworth. The following are excerpts from his extensive correspondence.

Camp Ellsworth, Virginia
October 1, 1862

My dear Ellen,

...We moved to this place yesterday. It is right at Fort Ellsworth, overlooking Alexandria. It is a beautiful place at the outskirts of the town, and with a fine view. The cause of our coming here is that near here they have a large camp of about 15,000 troops — convalescents, recruits, paroled men, and stragglers. Some of them require guarding, which we are ordered to do. It will take about 100 men for guard duty. This detail is small compared to the detail we had that was so large we could not drill. Now we have battalion drill. Otherwise, I would rather not have come here. As we were before, we had three companies on picket and 100 in trenches. Besides, we have almost 100 men sick. The measels are running through my Regiment.

I am invited to attend a party this evening at Genl Sickles's. ...The General is very pleasant with me, but I still prefer Genl Grover. ...

Camp Ellsworth, Virginia
November 8, 1862

My dear Ellen and family,

...We have had no good weather since you left. First it was cold and blustry. Yesterday it snowed all day. The ground is all covered with snow two or three inches deep, and this morning it is moderately cold. ...

We are in a bad condition to move — so cut down by sickness. We buried two more of our men yesterday. One of them was getting well and walking around the day before he died. He eat one of these abomable pies, sickened, and died. How provoking. I wish there was not a pie to be had. No wonder the pie dealers are ordered away. They ought not to be allowed to come near us. I have forbidden the sutler to

sell them. ...

Camp Ellsworth, Virginia
November 10th 1862

My dear Ellen,
...The snow has all gone here and the weather has become more mild. I think it has somewhat settled. We are still here; our orders are to march no further but to be prepared.

Camp Ellsworth, Virginia
November 12th 1862

My dear Ellen,
...We buried two more of our men — one yesterday and one the day before. Two or three more will die. The disease runs into typhoid fever. Col. Well's Regiment is the same way. I hope we will not have so much more sickness now. The worst is over. It has been very severe on us. ...

Camp Ellsworth, Virginia
November 15th 1862

My dear Ellen,
...I like this place very much and also Genl. Carr. He is very kind and makes it very agreeable for us. I am not certain we will remain in this Brigade. ...⁶⁵

While commanding the 2nd Connecticut Heavy Artillery at Fort Ellsworth in 1864, Lt. Col. Nathaniel Smith filed a series of field reports which provide an indepth survey of camp conditions, physical topography and the armaments present. This study is well worth reproducing and appears below:

Fort Ellsworth Va.
March 13th 1864

Colonel
I have the honor to forward the following report of Fort Ellsworth as called for March 12th 1864.

Outline

A Quadrangle with a bastion at each corner and in the rear a lunette, the gorge fronting toward Fort Lyon and closed by a gate of heavy timber.

Bomb Proofs

Two — wet, caving in internally, and externally. Not sufficiently strong being but about four feet in

thickness.

Magazine

Three — all need reinforcing

Perimeter

750 yards

Profile

For the dimensions of this the following drawing is submitted —

Ground Seen by guns

Fort Lyon and the hills beyond it. Hunting Creek bridge and the Mt. Vernon Road — the Orange & Alexandria Railroad and the plain to the north of Shuter's Hill.

Distance to Adjacent Works

2,000 Yards to Fort Williams

2,500 Yards to Fort Lyon

Character of Communication

The roads are good and nearly direct. Wants in Armament — None

Defects

The southwest bastion should be raised four feet, as the west front of the Fort is exposed to an enfilading fire from the hills in rear of Fort Farnsworth — The gorge should be changed to where the draw bridge now is on the east side of the Fort because the present gorge is in the middle of the most important front of the work. The Abbatis is partly gone, and what remains has rotted until it is worthless. The exterior slope is badly caved in, in many places and the berm is wholly gone. The bombproofs & magazines need reinforcing

Strength of Infantry Arms

439 Men armed with enfield Rifle muskets — there are 65 rounds of cartridges for man on hand.

Drill, School of officers, etc.

The men of this command are drilled five hours each day — divided into 2 hours artillery and 3 hours infantry drill.

There is a recitation of officers once a week to the Post Commander.

The non-commissioned officers have two recitations a week to their respective Company Commanders.

The recitations are in Artillery & Infantry both.

With respect I remain
Your obt. Servt.
Nathaniel Smith
Lt Col. 2nd C.H.A.
Commanding Ft. Ellsworth, Va.⁶⁶

A list of armaments at the fort can be gleaned from other reports sent to the Chief of Engineers at Washington. In 1863 these included:

- 1 24 pound Field Howitzer
- 3 6 pound James Rifles
- 3 24 pound Siege Carriages
- 9 8 inch S.C. Howitzers
- 3 30 pound Parrott cannon
- 1 100 pound parrott
- 585 men — Total 20 guns⁶⁷

Conditions at Fort Ellsworth did not remain static. There were changes in personnel and in the physical condition of the work. Each month, Benjamin Alexander, Lt. Col, Chief of Engineers for the Military District South of the Potomac would compile survey reports on what repairs and alterations had been made. From these records, it can be determined what physical changes and repairs were implemented at Fort Ellsworth:

*Memorandum on Wells and supply of Water in Different Forts
Constituting the Defenses South of the Potomac*

Fort Ellsworth has 2 wells — both want cleaning out — One of them has dead rats in it.

July 1864: repairing magazines at Ft. Ellsworth

August 18, 1864: We are again in want of a considerable quantity of timber and abattis for the works South of the Potomac. That obtained from vicinity of Vienna last spring will be exhausted by the structures in progress at Fort Wards and Ellsworth.

Suggest timber be obtained from 'Fitzhugh Estate' (Ravensworth)

Building magazines 1 & 2 at Ft. Ellsworth

September 1864: ...The old bomb proofs & Traverses have been torn down, 2 new magazines have been built and a new bomb proof 160 feet long in the course of construction and nearly complete.

Repairs to be made:

New internal revetments will be required at most old works — Ellsworth

Reinforcement of parapets will be required at

several old works — Ft. Ellsworth
Revetment of scarps will be required.

October 1864:

Bomb proof breast high and banquette tread complete (boards) Internal work in hand

November 1864:

Setting gabions, sodding, Excavating for foundation of new guardhouse — Completed work on bomb proof

December 1864:

Sodding bomb proof — building guard house

January 1865:

Ventilator hoods put up and wire screens over ventilators

February 1865:

Guard House has been completed and is now occupied

March 1865:

Stairway to breast high on bomb proof put up

Door and Frame made for implement room

Repair sodding on bomb proof

Putting up internal revetments of parapet

April 1865:

All repairs to defensive works south of Potomac by hired labor to be stopped except at Ft. Ellsworth

May 1865:

Renewing internal revetment of parapet

Revetting embrasures — laying platforms

Finishing bastion in rear of Guard house

Sodding slopes & trimming ramps

June 1865:

Laying gun platforms and making embrasures

Putting up pole revetments and completing parapet

Sodding steps of parapet, building traverse

Raising parapet of right front bastion

July 1865:

No more work to be done; discharge all the force as soon as possible

Synopsis of Work done at Fort Ellsworth for the Year

A new bomb proof has been completed — about $\frac{3}{4}$ of the new internal revetment removed, 13 new platforms and embrasures have been made and nearly all the interior of the fort has been sodded.⁶⁸

The chronicle of Fort Ellsworth is more than the recitation of statistics concerning ordnance, embrasures, and the construction of bombproofs or parapets. It is a story of a multitude of men who served a cause for which they believed, men who had dreams, fears and aspirations for a better world. Some would be courtmartialled for desertion while others would go on to serve with valor.

What was garrison duty like at Fort Ellsworth? Probably a typical day would have been similar to a schedule copied into the diary of Private Charles Johnson of the 9th N.Y. Volunteer Zouaves. He recorded:⁶⁹

Reveille	4 a.m.
Combat exercise under arms	
until Fatigue call	4:30
Breakfast call	5:00
Dress parade	6:00
Guard Mount	7:00
Morning Drill	9-11
Dinner	12-1 p.m.
Drill	1-2
Drill	4-4:30
Dress parade	5:00
Supper	6:00
Inspection of Arms	7:30
Tattoo	8:00
Taps	8:30

The records at the National Archives are also replete with the day-to-day tedium of the soldiers who manned Fort Ellsworth. On many occasions, Cpt. Van Pat Kannen of the 3rd N.Y. Artillery would be charged by General Whipple at Headquarters in Arlington to perform a variety of tasks. The following vividly portray such instances:⁷⁰

Hdq. Military Defences
Southwest of the Potomac
Arlington, Va.
April 29, 1862

Cpt. A. Van Patt Kannen

Please have the men under your command assembled for inspection and muster in accordance with Act XXXI Army Regulations by 10 o'clock tomorrow morning (Wednesday)

Lt. A.L. Eddy is detached as Inspecting and mustering Officer.

A.W. Whipple
Brig. General

Hdq. Military Defences
Southwest of the Potomac
Arlington, Va.
May 3, 1862

Cpt. Van Patt Kannen

The General directs me to request you to detach 1 corporal and 4 privates to form a portion of the Brigade guard at these headquarters. They will report in person here as soon as practicable and be noted upon your returns upon detached service.

Yours Respectfully
R. Dalton,
Lt. A.A.D.C.

...Sir,

The General desires you to suspend Artillery practice with projectiles until further orders.

By command of
Brig. Genl. Whipple

Hdq.
Arlington
May 19, 1862

Cpt.

I am directed by Brig. General Whipple to inform you. That you should keep constantly in your Magazine at least 100 rounds of ammunition for each gun in the fort and at least 45 rounds for such small arms. You will please make requisition immediately for the deficiency. Your inventory of ordnance and Ordnance stores has been received.

Cpt. Puttkannen

Ft. Ellsworth

Very Respectfully
Your obed servant
Charles H. Bay...
Lt. 4th Inf. A.D.C.

Cpt.,

You are authorized in conformity with the 66 & 67 articles of War to assemble a garrison Court Martial for the trial of prisoners in your command. ...

Hdq. Military District
Southwest of the Potomac
Arlington, Va.

June 6, 1862

Cpt. Van Pattkannen

You will order the 12th N.Y. battery under your command to proceed to Ft. Lyons tomorrow to relieve the 101st Reg. N.Y. and guard that fort until another reg. may be sent to garrison which will probably take place in a few days.

By Command of
Brig. Genl. Whipple
Henry R. Dalton

As with many Civil War forts, the soldiers entertained themselves while not on duty by playing cards, singing songs, writing letters, enjoying sports and visiting the historic sites in Alexandria such as Old Christ Church and the Marshall House.

After General Lee's surrender at Appomattox in April 1865, many of the 68 forts which guarded Washington were quickly decommissioned and dismantled. General J.G. Barnard, Chief of Engineers, had requested that several of the fortifications be maintained for future emergencies. Forts Ward and Ellsworth were among his list of first class sites to be preserved on the south side of the Potomac. Realizing that there would be litigation over the fort sites after the war, the Department of Engineers surveyed many of them. Fort Ellsworth's official survey was conducted on December 28, 1865.

After most of the troops had been mustered out of service, a large lot of military impedimentia was auctioned off in October, 1866. Soon afterwards, Fort Ellsworth probably ceased to exist. As the last soldiers left, nature began the slow process of reclamation as parapets, rifle pits and trenches began to erode. Alexandrians would visit the hill and scour the landscape for artifacts and years later bearded Yankee soldiers would make pilgrimages to the site of Fort Ellsworth on Shuter's Hill. As the years turned into decades, however, only the earth would remember the names of the thousands of Federal soldiers who bivouacked there "around the watchfires of a hundred circling camps."

Part III

Reconstruction, Reclamation & Renaissance

After the Civil War as Alexandrians tried to reconstruct their shattered lives, there were significant changes in the community. A large influx of Northerners, including former Union soldiers, had opened businesses and commercial establishments here. Hundreds of the town's citizenry had perished in the civil conflict and many returning Confederate soldiers would find that their property had been confiscated. Although much of the Shuter's Hill tract remained in the hands of the Dulany family, a 22 acre section of the hill had been auctioned off for non-payment of taxes to Jonathan Pierpont on February 2, 1864 for \$2,150.⁷¹

Col. Richard H. Dulany having suffered several wounds during the war would continue to reside with his wife, Rebecca, at his ancestral home, Welbourne, near Middleburg. The Shuter's Hill land would be rehabilitated and rented for agricultural purposes. A notice advertising the property appeared in a July 1868 issue of the *Gazette*:

FOR RENT

SHUTER'S HILL PROPERTY near the western suburbs. Good dwelling and 50 acres of land, all well enclosed with new fence.⁷²

Just a short distance to the south of the old Dulany estate lay the Water Company reservoir. It too had been severely damaged by the Civil War as a result of extensive use by the Union army. Robert F. Roberts, President of the company, reported to the stockholders in November 1866 that:

The great amount of water required during the military occupation of Alexandria, making the already constant use of the pumps necessary, and the pumping of muddy water unavoidable, caused a large deposit of sediment in the reservoir, and the Board last Spring, ordered it to be cleaned out...

The deposit of mud (averaging 6 inches in both ends) was wheeled out and spread upon the reservoir banks, strengthening and enriching them and the bottom and sides of the reservoir were thoroughly swept and cleaned.⁷³

Other improvements were made by the Water Company in 1873 when they purchased 9³/₄ acres of the Dulany tract for a new reservoir.

...In anticipation of a drought next summer, the Alexandria Water Company will ... build another

reservoir immediately north of the existing one on Shuter's Hill.⁷⁴

Later in 1873, the Dulany house which had replaced the Ludwell Lee mansion burned in July:

The alarm of fire about 11 o'clock last Saturday night was caused by the burning of a small frame house on Shuter's Hill, belonging to R.H. Dulany, esq. but leased by R.P. Catts.⁷⁵ It was unoccupied and had a little hay in one of the rooms.⁷⁶

Shuter's Hill, by 1875, still had not entirely recovered from the devastation and destruction of the war and the burning of the Dulany home in 1873 made it appear stark and bleak. Many Alexandrians pined over the loss of their once verdant recreational retreat.

...That magnificent and picturesque property, once the seat of hospitality, wealth, and refinement, now looks desolate and forlorn. How sad the sight appears to as 'to the manner born!' We all know the cause of it — wanton destruction by a relentless foe! In walking up King street one in company with two ladies — natives of our town — one of whom had been absent from her 'native hether' for twenty-eight years, and the other for about six, they, looking up towards the old historic hill, actually relieved their overtaxed feelings by shedding tears at the changed aspect of things there and prayerfully expressed the wish that some restoring hand would rebuild and beautify the place.⁷⁷

During the 1870's and 80's, the old hill would buzz with activity as Alexandria children repaired to Shuter's Hill to engage in the sport of Easter egg rolling.⁷⁸ Still, life there was less than tranquil as inhabitants would be robbed and travellers would be attacked by highway men on the Leesburg turnpike.⁷⁹ Twice in the 1870's, several mischievous urchins set fire to the mound. During the first blaze in 1878 Mr. J.P. Pierpont nearly lost his home:

The fire spread so rapidly as to endanger the adjoining property and Mr. J.P. Pierpont, who lives nearby, was obliged to summon assistance to extinguish the flames for fear his residence would be burned.⁸⁰

Another fire was set in March 1879:

There was quite a lively alarm of fire about 7 o'clock last night in the northern portion of the city caused

by the burning of brush on Shuter's Hill. The light was very bright ...⁸¹

A recreational pastime which has been associated with Shuter's Hill is the game of Golf. The sport has long been part of Alexandria's heritage since the first club was organized by Jonathan Swift at Gadsby's tavern in 1799.⁸² On September 7, 1900, the:

Board of Governors of the Alexandria Golf Club met in the office of L. Stabler and decided to engage the services of Mr. Robert White, of Cincinnati, to select and lay off a golf links at Shooter's Hill. ... By the 18th of the month the links had been laid off and playing will commence in a few days. The club now numbers about 125 members.⁸³

It was suggested at the first annual meeting of the golf club on October 8th at Peabody Hall that a club house be constructed on the summit of the hill. Just two months later in December:

the club house of the Alexandria Golf Club on Shooter's Hill (was) fast reaching completion. The house is a handsome one and is most conveniently arranged. The plans were drawn by Messrs. F.S. Dangerfield & C.F. Thomas ... Mr. U.G. Winston, contractor completed it on December 13 to the entire satisfaction of the club.⁸⁴

During the ten year period from 1901 to 1910, it was the scene of much gaiety. The ladies of Alexandria loved to hold teas there and they so enjoyed the panoramic vistas of Washington and the hills of Maryland. The flavor of this scene can be savored from a description of a 1903 party:

The country dance given at the Golf Club House last evening was a perfect success, and reflected great credit, on the committee who took charge of the affair. The decorations were artistic, the music good, the refreshments dainty and well served and the dancing enjoyed by all. Over a hundred persons were present ... From the road the club house made a beautiful appearance surrounded by colored lights whose beauty was enhanced by the darkness of the night, while the soft tones of the music added to the charm.⁸⁵

George Washington Park

As Alexandria became more populous, there was a strong economic impetus to construct new housing developments on the

outside environs of the old colonial city. Local suburban communities such as Del Ray, Rosemont, and the Town of Potomac began to dot the landscape on the western fringes of town.

In November 1907, F.L. Slaymaker, an Alexandria real estate dealer, announced his intention to develop a planned community on Shuter's Hill:

SHOOTER'S HILL

The plans for the development of Shooter's Hill as a high class residence section of the city has been perfected by Mr. Frank. L. Slaymaker, Alexandria's 'New Broom' in the real estate business ... The property is to be subdivided into block and lots, with all the lots large enough for every house to have a good lawn around it, and there will be careful provision made to insure the erection of a high class of dwellings. With the 25 minute schedule on the electric line from Spring Park to Pennsylvania Avenue — 20 minutes by steam trains to the new Union station in Washington, this property will be by far the nearest high class residence section to the center of Washington ...⁸⁶

Another real estate venture was also proposed at a meeting of the George Washington Monument Association⁸⁷ on February 5, 1908. At this historic meeting, it was proposed that Shuter's Hill and Spring Park properties be purchased for the purpose of erecting a monument to George Washington and establishing a park. A.J. Wedderburn, secretary of the organization, was requested to see how many lots could be sold to local citizens for raising funds for the endeavor. The initial plan called for the sale of 140 acres of property of which one-half would be building lots and the remainder would become the George Washington Park.⁸⁸ Three days later, (February 8th), it was announced that Wedderburn had already sold 65 lots. Sales continued at a brisk pace and the Association authorized the additional sale of 200 lots of the Shuter's Hill tract on installments of \$2 per month for 100 months.⁸⁹ Two days after George Washington birthday, on February 25th, \$40,000 had been accrued and nearly one-half of the new 200 lots sold.⁹⁰

By April 1908 a plat of the park and property had been prepared by D.J. Howell⁹¹ and several lots laid out in July and August. In July, 1908, the George Washington Monument Association was reorganized under a new charter. Under its old one, the Association could not sell or hold land except to build a monument and the property had to be located in the city of Alexandria.⁹² After paying the Dulany heirs

\$20,500 on May 10, 1908, the association completed its acquisition of Shuter's Hill real estate.⁹³ For the Dulany family, it would terminate a 109-year-old association with the historic site.

As sales of lots at George Washington Park continued, the Association announced in January 1909 that it would sponsor an "old Homeweeek and parade" to raise additional funds to build a monument to George Washington:

To the People of Alexandria

The Washington Monument Association has purchased and paid for during the past year the Shooter's Hill property one of the most beautiful sites around our city. The association proposes to donate for park and play ground purposes about 25 acres of this property (including Fort Ellsworth), thus giving the city a useful and magnificent park. This park will be dedicated on the 30th of April, the one hundred and twentieth anniversary of Washington's first inauguration. It is proposed to have on this occasion one of the largest industrial agricultural and military parades that has ever been held in northern Virginia and during the week of April 26 to May 1 to invite all old Alexandrians and their children to join us in an "Old HomeComing Week." The President and Vice president of the United States, the governor of this and other states ... and many other distinguished gentlemen are expected to attend.⁹⁴

The projected celebration certainly did live up to expectations as thousands of Alexandrians, members of Congress and the President of the United States converged on Alexandria for the unforgettable festivities. The dignitaries assembled at Washington and Princess street to watch the elaborate parade. After the parade, President Taft and his retinue were whisked off to Shuter's Hill for the laying of the cornerstone of the George Washington Park.

...The Richmond Howitzers had taken a position on the side of Shooter's Hill a few yards west of the union passenger station. The governor's salute was fired first and later the presidential salute.

The ceremonies in connection with the laying of the cornerstone were very impressive ...

The cornerstone is of Indiana limestone and is sixteen inches square and four feet long. Two feet of the stone is above the ground. On its top are the words "George Washington Park." On the north side is the following inscription: 'Dedicated by George

Washington Monument Association, Alexandria, Virginia.' ...

While the corner stone was being laid, Governor Swanson from the veranda of the Golf Club House, two hundred yards away, was introduced by Mr. W.B. Smoot, President of the park association, and delivered an eloquent address. ...

...The governor received much applause.

When the president accepted the invitation to visit Alexandria, it will be remembered, it was with the understanding that he was not to be expected to make a speech. He, however, partook of the enthusiasm of yesterday and at the close of Governor Swanson's speech he was introduced to the audience on the hill by the governor. Mr. Taft was greeted with great applause. He said:

'It has been a great pleasure to be here this afternoon and to join with hospitable Alexandria and Virginia in celebrating the memory of George Washington, inaugurated 120 years ago as President of the United States. When your committee kindly invited me to be present I was assured that there would be no place on the programme for me to make a speech. It was left to me to remain silent if I would and so I will after expressing to you, in behalf of the Vice President, the Speaker of the House, and the whole government that has moved down here from Washington, our appreciation of Virginia hospitality and our high esteem for the eloquences and character of your good Governor.'

The crowds kept up an incessant cheer, and their shouts were taken up by the soldiers.

With much shaking of hands and farewells, the President, his military aide ... and Gov. Swanson were ushered to the executive automobile and escorted by the Fifteen Cavalry, were whisked back to this city where they were entertained at the residence of Mr. W.G. Smoot, President of the George Washington Park Authority ... (804 Prince street)⁹⁵

Thus ended one of the most impressive ceremonies ever held on old Shuter's Hill.⁹⁶

The efforts to build a monument to George Washington on Shuter's Hill were further enhanced in December 1909, when C.C. Carlin, U.S. Congressman from Alexandria, introduced legislation

in the House of Representatives for the minting of 300,000 half dollars for the benefit of the Washington Monument Association. Further provisions of the legislative package requested that Fort Ellsworth be restored and that an approach via a new avenue called "Carlyle Drive" be constructed.⁹⁷

Aviation history was also made in July 1909 when Orville Wright flew his plane from Fort Myer, circled the golf club house on Shuter's Hill and returned to the army base:

SUCCESSFUL FLIGHT

...Orville Wright and Lieutenant Benjamin D. Foulois made an aerial run in a biplane from the parade grounds at Fort Myer as far as the Southern Railway tracks south of the reservoir of the Alexandria Water Company, returning to the fort in 14 minutes and 42 seconds. The voyage was made at a speed of one second less than 42 miles an hour. This feat is the first of its kind in the world. ...

The crowd that had gathered on Shooter's Hill and at the base was about as numerous ... while people all over the city were on the lookout, many of whom were provided with field glasses...

Just as the sun was sinking behind Shooter's Hill keen-eyed members of the assemblage saw the machine as it rose over the tree tops in the vicinity of Fort Myer, and the cry, 'Here it comes!' enthused every one. The cavalrymen on the hill soon cleared a space on the summit and every eye was riveted on the fast approaching biplane. At first it was suggestive of a vampire in the offing, but it was becoming larger every second, ... The crowd was greatly enthused and cheered wildly as the aeronauts drew near the hill.

The propellers which were spinning with the rapidity of tops and the rattle occasioned by them sent additional enthusiasm through the gathering when at 6:56 the machine was passing over the hill. The aviators kept south after passing the crest until they reached a point nearly over the railroad tracks when a graceful turn was made, and the biplane headed to the north, passing between Shooter's Hill and the union passenger station. ...

The machine was apparently between 60 and 100 feet above when it passed over Shooter's Hill.

The performance was over by seven o'clock, and

during the next half hour King street was thronged with people who were returning home discussing this twentieth century wonder.⁹⁸

Orville Wright said of his experience:

...When we came within sight of Shooter's Hill I had to bear sharply to the right to get to the balloon, around which I had to pass. I crossed in front of it turned to the left, and headed back over the crowd that had gathered there. ...⁹⁹

From 1910 to 1920, additional housing stock was constructed at the George Washington Park subdivision and numerous festivals held in the park. Easter egg rolls were a pleasant pastime for many and on the 4th of July in 1912, fireworks were shot off from Shuter's Hill.¹⁰⁰ It was even suggested in 1912 that the Alexandria hospital should be removed from its Duke Street location and built on the precipice.¹⁰¹

In 1915, William B. Smoot and A.J. Wedderburn tendered the use of George Washington Park to the public and suggested the city of Alexandria purchase the site. This course of action was discussed at a city council meeting in September, 1915 when it was proposed that the city purchase 8 acres of the park for \$6,500 and reserve the right of the George Washington Monument Association to sell lots at the summit of Shuter's Hill to the Masons for their proposed monument to George Washington.¹⁰²

Talk of reserving a site on Shuter's Hill for a Masonic monument to George Washington caused considerable excitement in Alexandria. The *Gazette* reported:

It has not, been definitely decided that the temple is to go on Shooter's Hill, this being a matter that will have to be decided by the site committee of the Washington National Masonic Memorial Association which has the erection of the temple in charge. ... At the last meeting of the association held here on February 22, a site committee was appointed and this committee viewed a number of proposed sites. ...

Plans for the purchase of the lots on Shooter's Hill have not been consummated but the fact that the local committee has practically secured an option on them, as it seems apparent from the proposition made to city council last night by the monument association, leads to the belief that the site on top of the hill will be the one that will be selected. It is generally agreed that it will be a magnificent location

for the imposing building, enjoying as it does a commanding position, that is seen from all sections of the surrounding country.¹⁰³

A bandstand was erected on Shuter's Hill in June, 1918, for the aesthetic pleasure of the local citizenry and on several occasions, the Alexandria Light Infantry would march to the eminence to practice pitching tents, military manoeuvres and participate in sham battles.¹⁰⁴

Finally after many years of diligence, the George Washington Masonic Memorial committee purchased from the City of Alexandria the Shuter's Hill tract on February 2, 1921, for \$8,500.¹⁰⁵ The ground breaking ceremony for the grand masonic temple transpired June 5, 1922:

With simple yet impressive services ground was broken at noon today on Shooters Hill, George Washington Park, for the erection of the George Washington Masonic National Memorial Association Temple in memory of George Washington ...

The breaking of the ground was done by Louis A. Watres, Scranton, Pa., president of the George Washington Masonic National Memorial Association, and Charles H. Callahan, Alexandria, one of the vice-presidents of the association.

Just previous to the breaking of the ground a foreman employed by the Cranford Paving Company, of Washington, loosened the earth about and simultaneously both Messrs. Watres and Callahan dug down into the soil and removed several spades of earth which marked the first formal removal of the earth for the temple which when completed will cost \$2,500,000.¹⁰⁶

A full presentation of the events surrounding the construction of the temple have been ably chronicled by Adrian Brown in his volume entitled: *The George Washington Masonic National Memorial*.

The George Washington Masonic Temple rests majestically on old Shuter's Hill and on a clear night its lights emblazon the heavens. It smiles on the vibrant city of Alexandria with its bustling new metro subway station and blocks of restored townhouses. Yet, standing there in eerie silence like a lone sentry overlooking the Capitol and the placid waters of the Potomac, it too remembers the 250-year-old heritage of Shuter's Hill.

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Footnotes

¹. *Alexandria Gazette*, 1/1/1883, p. 3.

². Charles W. Stetson, *Four Mile Run Land Grants*, (Washington, D.C.: Mimeoform Press, 1935), p.1

There is disagreement among historians as to the origin of the name "Shuter's Hill." William Adrian Brown in his volume, *The George Washington Masonic National Memorial* (p.____) reproduces a portion of a diary of Gerald Alexander in which it is averred that Mr. Shuter was a tavern keeper who had acquired squatters rights on the Alexander family's waterfront property. Through some quid pro quo agreement, Gerald Alexander then induced Shuter to remove his family to higher ground whereupon, Alexander would then take over his waterfront property and establish a town there.

William B. McGroarty, Alexandria Historian, in a letter to George C. Martin, Executive Secretary of the Board of Geographic Names, dated October 12, 1939, indicates that "Shuter Hill" was named for Shooter's Hill in London. He cites as proof a letter written in 1790 from Thomas Lee Shippen to his father in Philadelphia. Young Shippen visited his uncle, Ludwell Lee, at Shuter's Hill and stated that the "estate was handsomer than the one in England by the same name." (See Edm. J. Lee, *Lee of Virginia*, p. 117)

Others have asserted that the name takes its origin from the fact that there was a great deal of "shooting" at Ft. Ellsworth during the Civil War.

This is undoubtedly purely spurious and I am also suspicious of the Gerald Alexander diary account since he did not own any land near the current Shuter's Hill. According to his father's will, he was devised property north of Four Mile Run. The property at Shuter's Hill was owned by his brother, Philip. Thus, how could Gerald Alexander trade a tavern owner named Shuter land he did not own. See: Beth Mitchell, *Beginning at a White Oak — Patents and Northern Neck Grants of Fairfax County, Virginia*, (McGregor and Werner, 1977), p. 61, 62. Anyway the first deed reference to the hill (Q1, Jan. 1, 1787, p. 354 Fairfax County) spells the geographic location "Shuter's Hill."

³. Mollie Somerville, "The Lady of the Manor," in *Alexandria a Composite History*, ed. by Elizabeth Hambleton & Marian Van Landingham, (Alexandria: The Alexandria Bicentennial Commission, 1975), p. 1.

⁴. Fairfax County Deed book: Q1, p. 354, Jan. 1, 1787.

⁵. Edith Sprouse, *Colchester — Colonial Port on the Potomac*, (Fairfax, Va.: Fairfax Office of Comprehensive Planning, 1975), p. 179, 180.

⁶. *Virginia Journal and Alexandria Advertiser*, 2/5/1784, p. 3.

⁷. *Ibid.*, 2/6/1784, p. 3.

⁸. *Ibid.*, 2/6/1784, p. 3.

⁹. *Ibid.*, 3/2/1786, p. 4.

¹⁰. Fairfax County Deed book: B2, p. 452.

Colonel Light Horse Harry Lee, Revolutionary Cavalry leader and confidante to George Washington, purchased a 10 acre portion of the Shuter's Hill tract from Alexandria wheat merchants, Hooe & Harrison, on February 1, 1787. Lee immediately mortgaged the site and agreed to pay the wheat firm 160 pounds crop tobacco or silver coin within 12 months. An even more tantalizing provision of this indenture averred that if Lee could convey to Hooe & Harrison 42,500 acres of land granted by the Commonwealth of Virginia to the officers and soldiers of the Revolution on the Cherokee and Ohio Rivers by September 1, 1787, then the entire indenture would be void. Probably Lee was unable to deliver these western lands to Hooe and Harrison

because he later sold the Shuter's Hill tract to William Lyle for £1,800 on the 4th of December 1788, and made a profit of £200 on the transaction. Yet, amazingly, Lee repurchased the property from Lyles for £1,500 on October 17, 1791 for 300 pounds less than what he had originally sold it. Perhaps, he had been apprised that the Capital of the United States would be moved from Philadelphia to the Banks of the Potomac.

Local tradition has it that the Capitol of the United States would have been built on Shuter's Hill if it had not been for the intervention of George Washington who feared public censure of this move because he owned adjacent property in Alexandria and a large tract on Four Mile Run. Supposedly, Jefferson and Madison favored Alexandria as the site of the new republic.

An inquiry into the facts of the case does not support this supposition however. Jefferson in a memo to George Washington dated 14 September, 1790, advocated placing the new capital on the Eastern branch (Anacostia River). See: Julian Boyd, (ed), *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965), Vol. 17, p. 463.

In an article entitled "A Capitol on the Potomac" by Donald Sweig, he traces the movement to have the capital removed from Philadelphia to the Banks of the Potomac. Among the devices utilized by Alexandria and Georgetown merchants to have the federal city located in this region was a broadside penned by Alexandria merchant David Stuart. Sweig asserts that the Alexandrians hoped to share in the commercial advantages the new city would bring but that Georgetown was specifically proposed as the actual location for the Capitol. See: Donald Sweig, "A Capitol on the Potomac — A 1789 Broadside and Alexandria's attempt to Capture the Cherished Prize," *Virginia Magazine of History & Biography*, (Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1979), Vol. 87, p. 85).

It is interesting to note that Richard Bland Lee who broke the deadlock and voted for the assumption policy of Alexander Hamilton was the brother of Light Horse Harry Lee. By having the capital removed to the Potomac District, many of Lee's constituents would benefit financially including his own brother. Thus, it made good sense for Light Horse Harry Lee to repurchase Shuter's Hill since it was an excellent piece of real estate close to the port of Alexandria which would benefit if the seat of government were removed here.

Another good reason, Shuter's Hill was never proposed as the site of the United States Capitol is that it was outside the original land given by the state of Virginia for the ten mile square district. Shuter's Hill was situated in Fairfax County in 1791 and thus there was no intention by Washington, Madison or Jefferson to have the Capitol building constructed in Virginia. Thus the issue becomes a moot point.

¹¹. E.J. Lee, *Lee of Virginia*, (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1974), p. 323-326.

¹². Thomas Lee Shippen to Wm. Shippen, Sept. 15, 1790, in the *Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. by Julian P. Boyd, (Princeton: Univ. Press, 1965), Vol. 17, p. 464-466.

¹³. See: Appendix A.

¹⁴. "Index to Alexandria Virginia Declarations for Assurance in the Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia 1796 — 1823," Alexandria Library, Lloyd House.

¹⁵. "Recollections of Matilda Lee Love" in *Lee Chronicle* by Cazenove G. Lee, (N.Y.: N.Y. University Press, 1957), p. 284.

¹⁶. Joseph Packard, professor at the Episcopal Seminary said that Flora's "tomb was to be seen there prior to the late Civil War." (*Lee of Virginia, op. cit.*, p. 326.) Ann Lee, wife of Charles Lee, Attorney General of the U.S. under Washington and Adams Administration and daughter of Richard Henry Lee was also interred in the same Lee cemetery in 1804. Remains of this cemetery have long since disappeared and probably were

destroyed when Union soldiers dug fortifications for Fort Ellsworth in May 1861. Union soldiers were known to have used tombstones for fire backs in their camps. The desecration of the Lee family cemetery was not the only case of this occurrence happening in the environs of Alexandria. See: *Alexandria Gazette*, 10/7/1862; 10/13/1862; 3/24/1866, p. 3.; 5/30/1872, p. 3.

¹⁷. "Recollections of Matilda Lee Love," p. 4.

¹⁸. *Fairfax County Deed book*: B2, p. 452.

¹⁹. King Albert Hagey & William Andersen Hagey, *The Hagey Families in America and the Dulaney Family*, (Bristol, Tenn: The King Printing Co., 1951), p. 562.

²⁰. See: Appendix B for the genealogy of Benjamin Dulany family.

²¹. Gay Montague Moore, *Seaport in Virginia — George Washington's Alexandria*, (Richmond, Va.: Garrett & Massie, Inc., 1949), p. 176.

²². Fairfax County Court Order Books: 1783, p. 433; 1788, p. 396, in *Fairfax County Court Records*, 1783-1802, Alexandria Library, Lloyd House.

²³. Gay Montague Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 173-182.

²⁴. Alexandria City Deed book: P, p. 475.

²⁵. *Alexandria Gazette*, 4/27/1812.

²⁶. *Alexandria Gazette*, 1/14/1815 - Courtesy of Edith Sprouse

²⁷. Alexandria Orphans Court Will Book #8, 1821 — 31, p. 53.

²⁸. *Alexandria Gazette* 8/3/1827, p. 3.

²⁹. *Ibid.*

³⁰. Alexandria City Deed book: R2, p. 349.

³¹. F.L. Brockett, *Lodge of Washington*, (Alexandria, Va.: George E. French, Pub., 1876), p. 178.

³². *Alexandria Gazette*, 7/22/1839, p. 3.

³³. *Alexandria Gazette*, 2/1/1836, p. 3.

³⁴. Rebecca Anne Dulany when nine years of age was left a fortune by Lady Hunter of England which included: \$1,000,000, valuable jewels and 500 pieces of silver. Lady Hunter was the niece and adopted daughter of Daniel Dulany of London. Her name was Rebecca Ann de la Serre and she married Sir Richard Hunter, physician to Queen Victoria on July 21, 1829. Lady Hunter died at Brighton, March 29, 1835. See: King Albert Hagey, *op. cit.*, p. 561, 562. Rebecca Anne Dulany, daughter of Major Rozier Dulany and his wife Frances A. Carter had a son named H. Grafton Dulaney who was known as the wealthiest young man in Washington. His yearly income averaged between \$80,000 and \$90,000. Again see: King Albert Hagey, *Hagey Families, op. cit.*, p. 608.

³⁵. Fairfax County Will Book T, p. 79 — Probated 20 May 1839.

³⁶. Letter of G. Howard White, Attorney at Law to Eleanor Lee Templeman, dated 18 Dec. 1982, Eleanor Lee Templeman Collection, Box 63, Alexandria Library, Lloyd House.

"Somewhere, there is a graphic letter describing the fire at Shuter's Hill — it's most likely at Sabine Hall...."

³⁷. Letter of John Armisted Carter to Sir Richard Hunter, Sept. 25, 1841 in papers of Chancery 1850: *Dulany vs. Duke of Leeds et al.*, in Letter of G. Howard White Attorney at Law, Washington D.C. To Eleanor Lee Templeman, dated 3 Nov. 1982, Eleanor Lee Templeman Collection, Box 63, Alexandria Library, Lloyd House.

³⁸. Rebecca Ann Dulany to Sir Richard Hunter, July 24, 1844, in Letter of G. Howard White, *op. cit.*, Nov. 3, 1982.

³⁹. Fairfax County tax records from 1853 to 1867 for the Shuter's Hill tract also confirm that the structure on the hill during this era was only valued at \$200. Certainly this was not the same house which Ludwell Lee had insured for £5,000 in 1796. See: Appendix C.

- ⁴⁰. King Albert Hagey, *op. cit.*, p. 608.
- ⁴¹. *Ibid.*, p. 608.
- ⁴². Compiled Service Records of Confederate soldiers who served in the 7th Virginia Cavalry (Ashby's Cav.), Reel 324, National Archives of the United States.
- ⁴³. *Alexandria Gazette*, 9/4/1840.
- ⁴⁴. *Alexandria Gazette*, 7/10/1840.
- ⁴⁵. *Alexandria Gazette*, 7/3/1844; 7/4/1844, p. 1.
- ⁴⁶. *Ibid.*, 7/9/1850, p. 3.
- ⁴⁷. Benjamin Hallowell, *The Autobiography of Benjamin Hallowell*, (Philadelphia: Friends' Book Association, 1884), p. 195-200.
- ⁴⁸. *Ibid.* p. 200.
- ⁴⁹. *Alexandria Gazette*, 4/11/1851, p. 3.
- ⁵⁰. *Alexandria Gazette*, 1861.
- ⁵¹. Horatio G. Wright, b. March 6, 1820 at Clinton Connecticut; d. July 2, 1899, buried at Arlington National Cemetery. Wright served in the Engineer Corps and his first wartime experience was an attempt to fire the Norfolk Navy Yard before its evacuation of Federals. Later he became Chief Engineer of General Samuel Heintzelman's staff and became a brigadier general on September 16, 1861. For additional information on Wright's career see: Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Blue — Lives of Union Commanders*, (La. State University Press, 1964), p. 575, 576.
- ⁵². John Gross Barnard, *A Report on the Defenses of Washington to the Chief of Engineers, U.S. Army*. (Washington, G.P.O., 1871), p. 8.
- ⁵³. See: Appendix D.
- ⁵⁴. Barnard, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
- ⁵⁵. Barnard, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
- ⁵⁶. Barnard, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
- ⁵⁷. Barnard, *op. cit.*, p. 37, 76.
- ⁵⁸. Barnard, *op. cit.*, p. 137.
- ⁵⁹. Letter of Genl. J.G. Barnard to F.L. Blair, Sept. 27, 1862, in Letters sent by the Chief Engineer. 1862-1866. 2 vols., Record Group 77, entry No. 553, National Archives of the United States.
- ⁶⁰. Letter of G. Howard White, Attorney at Law, to Eleanor Lee Templeman, Nov. 3, 1982, Eleanor Lee Templeman Collection, *op. cit.*
- ⁶¹. *Local News*, 10/16/1861, p. 2.
- ⁶². David V. Miller, *The Defenses of Washington During the Civil War*, (Buffalo, N.Y.: 1976), p. 14.
- ⁶³. Allan Nevins, ed., *Diary of the Civil War 1860-1865 — George Templeton Strong*, (N.Y.: The Macmillan Co., 1962), p. 173.
- ⁶⁴. Col. J. Howard Kitching, *More Than Conquer' or Memorials of Col. J. Howard Kitching, 6th New York Artillery, Army of the Potomac*, (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1873), p. 24, 25. — Courtesy of Wally Owen, Fort Ward.
- ⁶⁵. James I. Robertson, Jr., ed. *The Civil War Letters of General Robert McAllister*, (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1965), pp. 213, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221.
- ⁶⁶. *Records of Detached Engineer Officers, Defenses of Washington, 1861-66*, Record Group No. 77, National Archives of the United States.
- ⁶⁷. "Report of Armaments & Garrison in the Defenses South of the Potomac," Record Group 77, National Archives of the United States.
- ⁶⁸. "Correspondence, Proposals, Morning and Inspection Reports, Monthly Returns, and Property and Accounting Papers. 1861-65." Record Group No. 77, National Archives of the United States.
- ⁶⁹. Norman C. Delaney, "General Thomas William," *Civil War Times Illustrated*, July 1975, p. 7.

- ⁷⁰. "Letters Sent by Headquarters, Military Defenses Southwest of the Potomac." Record Group No. 77, National Archives of the United States.
- ⁷¹. *Alexandria Gazette* 2/2/1864, p. 2.
- ⁷². *Ibid.*, 7/27/1868, p. 3.
- ⁷³. "Presidents Report, Alexandria, Nov. 14, 1866, Alexandria Water Co. Annual Stockholders Meetings 1851-1877," Alexandria Library, Lloyd House, p. 6.
- ⁷⁴. *Alexandria Gazette*, 2/10/1873, p. 3. — The Water Company paid the Dulany family \$300. an acre for this property.
- ⁷⁵. R.P. Catts — conducted a drovers Hotel called "Catts Tavern" at the West End Alexandria. "Alexandria City Directory, 1870."
- ⁷⁶. *Alexandria Gazette*, 7/21/1873, p. 3.
- ⁷⁷. *Ibid.*, 3/25/1875, p. 2.
- ⁷⁸. *Ibid.*, 3/29/1875, p. 3.
- ⁷⁹. *Ibid.*, 7/27/1875, p. 3.; 7/30/1897, p. 3; 7/31/1897, p. 3.
- ⁸⁰. *Ibid.*, 11/11/1878, p. 3.
- ⁸¹. *Ibid.*, 3/11/1879, p. 3.
- ⁸². *The Columbia Mirror and Alexandria Gazette*, 11/9/1799.
- ⁸³. *Alexandria Gazette*, 10/4/1900; 10/18/1900.
- ⁸⁴. *Alexandria Gazette*, 12/6/1901, p. 3.; 12/13/1901, p. 3.
- ⁸⁵. *Ibid.*, 6/27/1903, p. 3.
- ⁸⁶. *Ibid.*, 11/25/1907, p. 3.
- ⁸⁷. *Ibid.*, 11/27/1908; 7/8/1909.
- ⁸⁸. *Ibid.*, 2/05/1908.
- ⁸⁹. *Ibid.*, 2/14/1908, p. 3.
- ⁹⁰. *Ibid.*, 2/25/1908, p. 3.
- ⁹¹. *Ibid.*, 4/3/1908, p. 3.
- ⁹². *Ibid.*, 7/21/1908, p. 3.
- ⁹³. *Ibid.*, 8/10/1908, p. 3.
- ⁹⁴. *Ibid.*, 1/20/1909, p. 1.
- ⁹⁵. *Ibid.*, 5/1/1909.
- ⁹⁶. *Ibid.*, 4/26/1909 — As part of the festivities a large search light was mounted on the hill and remained there for the duration of the celebration.
- ⁹⁷. *Alexandria Gazette*, 12/21/1909, p. 3.
- ⁹⁸. *Ibid.*, 7/31/1909.
- ⁹⁹. *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁰. *Ibid.*, 4/4/1912, p. 1.
- ¹⁰¹. *Ibid.*, 9/19/1912, p. 1.
- ¹⁰². *Ibid.*, 9/28/1915, p. 2.
- ¹⁰³. *Ibid.*, 9/29/1915, p. 3.
- ¹⁰⁴. *Ibid.*, 6/29/1918; 4/25/1919; 4/19/1921, p. 3.
- ¹⁰⁵. *Ibid.*, 2/2/1921, p. 1.
- ¹⁰⁶. *Ibid.*, 6/5/1922, p. 1.

Addendum to Fort Ellsworth

John S. Applegate. *Reminiscences and Letters of George Arrowsmith*. John H. Cook, Publisher: Red Bank, N.J. 1893.

pp. 59-61 "Colonel Lansing tore down a cemetery wall near the fort so he could use the fort's guns to the best advantage. President Lincoln, Seward, McDowell, Adjutant David Smith went to Colonel Christian's headquarters. He occupies a large brick house owned by a Major Smoot in the Confederate Army. ..."

Colonel Lansing was with the 17th New York Infantry stationed at Fort Ellsworth. Arrowsmith was an officer in the 26th New York Infantry. Citation courtesy of Wally Owens of the Fort Ward Museum Staff, Alexandria.

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